

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

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## THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

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## CAPTAIN MACLEAN'S STRICTURES ON DR. MADDEN'S REPORT.

NEARLY eleven columns in three successive numbers of the *Morning Herald*, have been devoted to the strictures of Captain Maclean, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, on Dr. Madden's Report. The greater portion of these strictures refer to matters with which we have no concern; we shall try to do justice to those which relate, first, to the existence of slavery on the Gold Coast, and secondly, to the implication of British merchants in the slave-trade.

It is an undisputed fact that domestic slavery does exist on the Gold Coast, and that slaves are currently held there by British subjects, as well as natives. It is also undisputed British law, that no person can be held in slavery by any party, whether a British subject or otherwise, in any British territory, except India, St. Helena, and Ceylon. The existence of slavery on the Gold Coast, therefore, would be an admitted infraction of British law, if that region were a British colony. But here arises a question, the difficulty of answering which complicates the whole subject. The Gold Coast is the name of a region on the coast of Africa, extending several hundred miles in length, on which, at distant intervals, there are about half-a-dozen British forts for the protection of commerce; but the British government disavows all pretensions to the territorial possession of it. Consequently it is not a British colony.

Nevertheless, although the British government renounces the claim to territorial rights generally, this is not absolute, inasmuch as the ground occupied by the forts is at all events British possession. But is any more than this British? and if so, how much? This is the perplexing question. Lord John Russell (then colonial secretary) gives his opinion that our territorial possession and rights are limited by the walls of the forts; Dr. Madden thinks they ought to be co-extensive with the range of the guns; and other gentlemen, among whom we are to rank Captain Maclean, maintain that they should, although as yet they do not, extend over the whole territory actually subjected to our influence. It is plain that the question of territorial right must be satisfactorily and definitively settled before anything can be rationally said respecting the existence of slavery. Of the source of perplexity we have thus indicated Captain Maclean largely avails himself, and presses the argument against Dr. Madden, that the proclamation of Sir John Jeremie, which he posted up in the town of Cape Coast, was directed against parties on a foreign soil, and therefore, as slave-holders, not properly within the scope of it.

Now, for the sake of argument, not disputing this position, it is to be observed, that, although the Gold Coast is technically a

foreign soil, practically it is British. Captain Maclean describes it as a "territory which we have long actually governed, and which cannot be abandoned without the abandonment of the forts at the same time." The gigantic evil, then, stares us in the face, that through a territory practically British, several hundred miles in extent, and containing more than three hundred thousand inhabitants—nearly as many as the island of Jamaica—slavery prevails, upheld and countenanced by British authorities. The technical exemption of this territory from British possession does nothing towards relieving this country from the moral responsibility attaching to such a state of things, and from the obligation of providing for it some immediate remedy. We quoted in our last Captain Maclean's panacea for this fearful mischief. "Let an act of parliament be passed," says he, "constituting the whole territory into a colony, and placing it with regard to native domestic slavery on the same footing as the East Indies." The meaning of this is that slavery on the Gold Coast should be legalized and perpetuated by the British legislature. Hear this, people of England! It may perhaps be the best thing for a region which is "now actually under our control" to be declared a British colony; but Captain Maclean may depend upon it, we hope, that, if such an act of parliament should ever be passed, it will contain a clause decreeing that slavery shall exist no more. He does not seem to know how soon even slavery in India is coming to an end.

Captain Maclean admits that British subjects of the most respectable class hold slaves, but denies that such slaves are sold. Dr. Madden says that the late Mr. Hanson, a merchant, left many slaves for the benefit of his creditors, and that they were about to be sold. To this Captain Maclean replies that Mr. Hanson's slaves are not left for the benefit of his creditors, and that they never had been destined to be sold. This is very well as far as it goes, but it is far from being satisfactory. Captain Maclean admits, by implication that the whole of Mr. Hanson's property was due to his creditors (chiefly resident in London), "to whom he was largely indebted;" by what rule would, or could, his slaves, clearly a part of his property, have been withheld from them? Or how could their value have been realized, but by sale? If the slaves were not for the creditors, for whom were they? Did they, or could they, under the circumstances, pass by bequest to any other party? If they were not to be sold, what was to have been done with them? and what has actually been done with them, and for what reasons? All these questions Captain Maclean might have saved us the trouble of asking, if he had been more explicit; and his silence on these points affords strong ground for suspicion. In our judgment, common sense was on the side of "the authorities" who, when Dr. Madden contended "that the sale of such persons would amount to a felony," replied, "that justice was a greater duty than generosity, and that people, where debts were due and creditors clamorous, could not be deprived of any property that was left to pay them." While men are property, we do not see how it is possible to withhold them from being disposed of as such.

Captain Maclean further denies that the pawn system on the Gold Coast is virtual slavery. He says, "I will state what is meant by the term pawn;" and then he gives the example of a man who borrows a sum of money on an agreement to repay it by work at reduced wages. But this, we beg to say, is not telling us what is the meaning of the term pawn; nor does the example by any means fairly illustrate the system. Dr. Madden states that itinerant hucksters taking large credit of the merchants, "in some instances leave their children or dependents at the disposal of their creditors, to become their pawns in the event of their failing to return by the appointed time, or to pay the debts they incurred for them." Are not these people sold? And into what state, if not slavery?

But, without citing Dr. Madden, we have proof enough from Captain Maclean himself. Making out a wide distinction between a pawn and a slave, he says that a pawn cannot be sold or alienated, and that his services cannot be transferred: yet he subsequently speaks of "certain debts due by pawns, which had been sold with my sanction." Here then is the sale, if not of the pawns themselves, yet of the "debts due by them." Now when we ask what is selling a debt due by a pawn, it seems to be nothing short of transferring to another, for a consideration, that pawn's obligation to labour—or, which is the same thing, that pawn himself, in relation to the labour to which he is so obliged. If the case were one in which the obligation extended to the whole of his labour, the result would clearly be one of absolute slavery by purchase. Such a sale must be connected with all those means and prerogatives of coercing labour, by which alone the right acquired could be turned into value.



Captain Maclean refers slightly to the heavy complaints from pawns which Dr. Madden received, and has inserted in his report, and says that he would have done well to inquire into their truth. Perhaps so; but may it not be retorted that Captain Maclean would have done better to show their falsehood? Some of them deeply implicate him personally, but of only one case has he attempted an explanation. When will he do himself the justice of confessing how much truth there is in the rest?

We come now to the remarks of Captain Maclean on the cases of the *Dos Amigos* and the *Robert Heddle*. He quarrels with Dr. Madden's expression that the *Dos Amigos* was "evidently and obviously fitted out for the slave-trade," and affirms that "she had no appearance whatever of being engaged in the slave-trade."

Upon what grounds Captain Maclean makes this statement does not appear. That Dr. Madden had ample authority for the language he employed, is evident from the slightest inspection of the documents. The commissioners at Sierra Leone state that, "at the moment of capture, the *Dos Amigos* was prepared for the immediate reception of a cargo of slaves; her slave provisions were on board; her water casks, containing 15,000 gallons, were all filled with fresh water; and a complete slave-deck was laid fore and aft." They state in the same despatch, that the guns and gunpowder were purchased by her captain at Cape Coast "very shortly before her capture." Accordingly, in his letter to Captain Maclean, Lord Palmerston speaks of the *Dos Amigos* as "a vessel which was evidently engaged in the slave-trade, and fully equipped for the traffic." Dr. Madden cannot be charged with impropriety in using the same language. If Captain Maclean contradicts any one, he contradicts Lord Palmerston. And we may be permitted to say, that, if he was prepared to do this at all, he should have done it at once, and in the official correspondence; and should not have left it till now, and have done it at last in a mere article in a newspaper, which he cannot be required to substantiate. Besides, when called upon to prosecute a merchant for trafficking with a vessel "fully equipped for the" slave-trade, what could have been more direct than the reply (if it could really have been given), that the *Dos Amigos* was not equipped for the slave-trade, and "had no appearance whatever" of being engaged in it? If this was not said then—and it was not—it is scarcely to be believed now. Nor do we see very clearly how all the equipments described by the commissioners would have been found "very shortly after" her courteous reception at Cape Coast, unless some of them had been in her before.

Even if true, however, it affords nothing but a technical defence. "I might suspect, indeed," Captain Maclean adds, "that she was directly or indirectly connected with the slave-trade, merely because she was Portuguese, and had come from Bahia." But in his letter to Lord John Russell he admits that he knew it; for he says, "I have never seen a Spanish, Portuguese, or Brazilian vessel on this coast (and I have seen hundreds) that was not so engaged." "Nor is it pretended to be denied," he says in the same letter, "that in a general sense all these merchants knew, or suspected, that such vessels as the *Dos Amigos* were connected directly or indirectly with the slave-trade." The matter, then, is this—that both the British governor and the British merchants at Cape Coast readily furnish the slavers with supplies, knowing them to be such, they only being clever enough to conceal the "appearance" of being engaged in the trade. As a specimen of high feeling and excellent morals we commend this to consideration.

On the case of the *Robert Heddle*, which traded at the notorious slave-mart, Whydah, Captain Maclean does nothing but avail himself of the opinion of the present attorney-general, that it was not illegal; an opinion which can have no bearing in relation to Dr. Madden, because it has been given subsequently to his mission, and runs counter to all which had previously influenced the proceedings of the government.

#### NOTICE OF "REMARKS ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGROS IN SURINAM," CONTAINED IN THE NIEUWE AMSTERDAMSCHÉ COURANT, OCTOBER 21, 1842.

(Concluded.)

We proceed to translate the remaining portion of the *Remarks*.

"Such are the results of emancipation in the English colonies. Who will not, on a serious consideration of these things, cease from violent efforts to promote such a measure, which would at once destroy our beautiful and fertile colony of Surinam? This colony is truly, whatever misapprehension may exist respecting it, a valuable jewel for the Netherlands, and however decayed it may be, is still abundantly worthy of the consideration of the mother country and of the government. The loss of it would be deeply felt.

"Let us in this respect follow the example of our neighbours; and, if it be determined that emancipation must take place, let it be accompanied by a just compensation to the proprietors, and after the negroes have been prepared for it.

"Whether the course which is at present pursued is calculated to lead to such results, I cannot but doubt. It has been lately stated in the *Courant*, that a commission has been appointed to advise respecting the new regulations to be introduced, consisting of four functionaries in the colony, two proprietors of estates, and one attorney, and that the three last have been knighted; but no information has transpired respecting the regulations or advice. Every thing has been done quietly, just as though the other proprietors, mortgagees, or administrators, were entirely strangers to the subject; for I am not aware that information has been sought from any of them respecting this matter of vital interest to the colony. Why has not a copy of the regulations been forwarded to every administrator of

plantations in Europe for his opinion, and why have not those administrators nominated a committee from amongst themselves to frame a general advice representing the sentiments of the whole body? Why not one of the Surinam administrators now in Holland added to the committee above proposed to assist it? No! it has been preferred to do every thing privately, and it is in the highest degree probable, that in a few months we shall receive the sentence which has been passed upon the proprietors of plantations, without their having been heard. Why, I am bold to ask, in the present difficult situation of the colony is a governor-general sent out who does not know the country, and who, however great may be the abilities of his Excellency, requires time to become acquainted with his position, and this at a moment when no time is to be lost, who having come from the East Indies, has notions entirely different from those of the West Indies, with whose people, customs and language he is unacquainted? Why is not the governor-general who has already twice occupied that office, now again nominated to fulfil its duties effectively? Why is not the wish of the greater part of the proprietors gratified in this respect? Why—but my question would lead me too far, and that which is done cannot be altered.

"Let the government, however, be careful in introducing the new regulations, for very little is required to inflame the minds of the black population. That which took place a little before the departure of the *Heer Rijk* should be a warning to the minister.

"Lastly, allow me to remark that emancipation in Surinam would be even much more destructive than it has been in the English colonies, 1st, because it is extremely probable that no compensation money would be given to the proprietors:—2nd, because the produce of the Dutch plantations has no protecting duty as in England, but on the contrary is much more burdened than that of the East Indies:—3rd, because our negroes are still less civilized than the English negroes were at the time of emancipation, and are much less accustomed to luxury and European commodities, in consequence of which they have fewer wants, and therefore less necessity for labour in order to supply them.

"Perhaps it will be urged in reply to what I have said, that the value of the slave is transferred to the soil—for this is the favourite hobby of the abolitionists, and I have myself heard that one of the principal proprietors of plantations in Demerara, resident at Amsterdam, has said that the compensation money was to be regarded as a present, and that on his estate with the same number of labourers much more produce was manufactured, so that a hogshead of sugar obtained by wages cost much less than formerly before emancipation took place. If it be true that the honourable gentleman has thus expressed himself, he is the only one who is thus fortunate, at least, if the official report may be credited, and consequently the honourable gentleman will do all the Surinam planters a service to prove his statement by unquestionable facts and documents, and further to make them acquainted with the means which he has adopted to attain such splendid results; until this be done I trust to the English reports.

"On whatever side, then, the question be considered, the results of an emancipation for which there has not been a very long preparation are most destructive to all parties concerned, and the most reasonable plan will be to allow the planters time, and leave to them the means to prepare their slaves by little and little for freedom, for they or their agents in the colony know much better than the colonial authorities what means are the most suitable for this purpose.

"That is, some will say, a pretext for delay (*het liedje van verlangen singen*), a means of putting off the question, and burying it in oblivion. By no means. The proprietors of plantations know too well that sooner or later they will have to yield to the outcry which some have raised, and many have already begun to adopt measures to prepare their slaves beforehand, by imparting to them moral and religious instruction, by endeavouring to perfect machinery and tools, and by efforts to procure for their negroes better dwellings, clothing, and more delicacies, by which they may become attached to the soil on which they are located. That this is truth requires no proof, I could name the plantations every one can convince himself of it without much trouble, by means of the very easy communication with Surinam, or by correspondence.

"Whether these efforts of the proprietors of plantations will have the desired effect time will show, but all who have learned the character of the black population in the place will, with ardent desires for their well doing, feel a secret fear that the result will not answer the expectation; for, whatever may be said to the contrary, with the negro to be free is not to work.

"Let not this, however, deter us who are proprietors of plantations, from using every effort to attach our slaves to a religious and moral conduct and industrious habits; let us do all in our power, and even make pecuniary sacrifices, to attain these objects. Let us report to each other, without any reserve, our successful or unsuccessful attempts, in order that, when the day of emancipation shall arrive, we may tranquilly, with the hand on the heart declare, that we have nothing to reproach ourselves with, and that, whatever the result may be, we have done all which is in our power, so far as it is permitted to mortals in order to guard against and prevent our ruin."

We do not deem it needful to make any lengthened observations on the above, because we think it has been shown that the statements on which the conclusions of the writer appear to be generally based are false.

The change from a system of injustice and oppression—by which the labourer was systematically defrauded of the reward of his toil, and condemned to unmerited degradation and suffering, terminating in countless instances in a premature death—has promoted instead of impaired the general prosperity of the British colonies. Had it however, been otherwise, we regard the intellectual and moral improvement, of a large coloured population in the West Indies, as of incomparably greater importance than the sordid interest and the guilty gains of the traffickers in human flesh and blood.

We rejoice in the appointment of a commission to take some steps in the highly necessary work of reformation in Surinam because we know, from the results of large experience in such attempts in the British colonies, that, if honestly undertaken and supported by public sentiment, they must ere long lead to the abolition of slavery; the only cure for the dreadful evils which



are inseparable from a system of coerced and uncompensated labour.

The danger said to arise from the character of the black population in the introduction of changes, is one which was often adduced formerly by British slave-masters, but of which the astonishing patience of the negro, under the most irritating and trying circumstances, is a sufficient refutation.

We notice the assertion that the Dutch slave-proprietors will be placed in a worse situation than were those of England in the event of emancipation. We do not pretend to judge respecting the probability of the Dutch government paying a large sum of money, to gratify the insatiable demands of a class of men, who have too long been allowed to degrade and torture those who have no less a claim upon the protection and guardianship of the parent state than themselves. The produce of the British West Indies has not the amount of protection which might be inferred from the statement in the *Remarks*. It is liable to a competition on equal terms with sugar from British India and the island of Mauritius, from which two sources nearly one-half of the supply of this article is at present drawn. The allegation that the negroes of Surinam are less civilized than the slaves in the British colonies at the period of emancipation, and less accustomed to European luxuries and commodities, reflects no credit on the character of Dutch slave-holders, but we have great reason to believe, that, however guilty Surinam proprietors may have been, and still are in the treatment of their bondsmen, they differ very little from the practice which formerly prevailed among their English neighbours. The horrible barbarities, and the determined hostility to the instruction of their slaves which we have cited, is sufficient evidence on this point.

We refer the writer of the *Remarks* to the parliamentary papers relative to British Guiana, for the proof that the value of the slave is to a great extent, if not entirely, transferred to the soil since the introduction of freedom. This is shown by the very large sum, considerably more than £400,000 sterling, for which plantations in that colony have been sold to persons resident in it, since the abolition act came into operation. It is therefore in confirmation of, and not in contradiction to official statements, that a proprietor of estates in British Guiana resident at Amsterdam has given his testimony to the pecuniary advantages of emancipation in his own case.

The monstrous folly of leaving slave-holders and their representatives to prepare for, and to carry into effect, the abolition of slavery, has been clearly seen in the resolute maintenance of abuses fatal to the improvement, happiness, and life of the slave, so far as it was possible in all the British colonies during a period of ten years, in which the vain attempt to obtain a reform from them was made, and the sacrifice of 50,000 lives during this term of trial who fell victims to the avarice and cruelty of those who claimed a property in their fellow-men. We might indeed truly state the sacrifice of human life at a much greater amount than we have done, because there is every reason to believe that, under freedom, instead of a decrease of 50,000, there would have been an increase of at least 200,000, arising from the excess of births over deaths, as a consequence of that law of nature and of providence, which only some dreadful calamity or intolerable oppression has been found to annul or to reverse.

On the subject of preparation for freedom, as was well observed by Lord Stanley in the passage we have quoted in a former paper, this is impracticable during slavery, and happily it is not needful. Recent experience, upon a scale so large as to be decisive of the question, has proved that emancipation is as safe as it is just; and that this righteous measure not only brings with it an improvement in the circumstances of the negro inconceivable by those who have not witnessed it, but that, by affording greatly increased motives and opportunity for instruction, it is eminently conducive to his intellectual, moral, and religious advancement. Such results fill the hearts of the philanthropist and christian with sober exultation; and furnish new and unanswerable arguments for universal emancipation, however differently regarded by those, who, if their own statements are to be believed, are the interested apologists for the perpetuation of negro bondage.

The concluding paragraph of the *Remarks* is worthy of the preceding portion. We would contrast with the selfishness which it breathes, the just and noble language of our favourite poet, Cowper:—

I would not have a slave to till my ground,  
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,  
And trample when I wake, for all the wealth  
That sinews bought and sold have ever earned.  
No! dear as freedom is, and in my heart's  
Just estimation prized above all price,  
I had much rather be myself the slave,  
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.

#### EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE WEST INDIA COMMITTEE.

ST. VINCENT'S.

In laying before the readers of the *Reporter* a brief view of the evidence taken by the West India Committee, we deem it necessary to specify the points to which their attention was particularly directed. They were as follows, viz. :—1st. The existing relations between employers and labourers. 2nd. The rate of wages. 3rd. The supply of labour. 4th. The system and expense of cultivation; and 5th. The general state of the rural and agricultural

economy of the colonies. How far the evidence taken was relevant or otherwise to these points, will appear as we proceed with its analysis and examination.

Having made this preliminary remark, we proceed to the consideration of the evidence of Mr. Hay M'Dowall Grant, the only witness examined in reference to the island of St. Vincent. This gentleman does not appear to be a proprietor. He represents himself to have been in charge of estates, eight in number, as attorney or agent. His testimony, however, merely refers to two of these estates, *Argyle* and *Calder*, and to the expression of an opinion in reference to the colony generally.

On the subject of the relations between employers and labourers, Mr. Grant's evidence is defective. He speaks of certain acts being in force, such as the Master's and Servant's Act, the Combination Act, the Ejectment Acts, &c. Of the particular provisions of these acts, however, he was ignorant (see answers to queries 7 to 16, and 392 to 408 both inclusive). Practically the relation between master and servant, he stated to be regulated by "a parole agreement for a month"—the labourer objecting to a contract for a longer period. "The renewal of work," at the end of the month, "is a renewal of contract." The agreement is understood to embrace the following particulars. "Nine hours' labour per day, five days in the week" at 8d. sterling for the first class; house-rent free, two allotments of provision grounds, one in the mountains, (one acre) and one on the estate (quarter of an acre) medical attendance and medicine; a gratuity of 2lbs. of salt fish weekly, *provided the labourer give satisfaction*, and sugar and rum *at the discretion of the manager, according to work.*" (Queries 17 to 32 inclusive). Turning from Mr. Grant to the official papers we find that the laws regulating the relations between employer and labourer have been various. The first was passed the 12th May, 1838, in view of the termination of the apprenticeship—which it abrogated on the 1st of August of the same year—by which the labourers were entitled to remain on the estates to which they were previously attached for twelve months, provided they were "willing to continue to perform *such work as shall be assigned them*, and shall truly and faithfully perform the same *for stipulated wages.*" Concurrently with this act were passed vagrant, combination, and police laws. The two first of these enactments were disallowed on account of their stringency. As Lord Glenelg then Colonial Secretary, in reference to the first, justly observed, "*it subjected every one to the absolute authority of the persons under whose control, or in whose employment he may be living.*" But the second act, which regulated contracts, was "open to yet graver objections." After a specification of many of its oppressive enactments, the noble lord remarked that its 10th clause was a grievous "departure from the great principles of personal freedom," for it provided, "that all workmen on estates shall be at their work at or before six o'clock in the morning, and shall not depart till six o'clock at night, except at breakfast and dinner, the time to be allowed for which shall not exceed three hours a-day." Well might he say, in disallowing these oppressive acts, that their confirmation would "*tend to reproduce, in a new form, many of those evils which it was the design of Parliament to bring to a close by the abolition of slavery.*" The police act was allowed to go into operation, oppressive on the labouring population, as its provisions were, though not confirmed by her Majesty.

Can it be reasonably wondered at, that, after this statement, the emancipated negroes looked upon their masters rather as enemies than friends; and that they evaded by all possible means the obligation to labour under contracts to which they were not really parties?

Mr. Grant gives a statement that on the *Calder* estate eighty-five field labourers, viz., 38 males and 47 females, only gave him 739 days labour in five months, (Query 103 and 104). This is made matter of grave complaint by him, though all who will take the trouble of referring to the blue books relative to the West Indies, will not be at a loss to discover the true cause of this diminution of labour on the estate in question. We gather from these books that Mr. Grant, on the 6th August, 1838, brought certain negroes before the magistrate "for refusing to work for stipulated wages, or to remove from the *Calder* estate." They declared themselves ready to work for reasonable wages; the law, however, was explained to them, and, having no option, they accepted Mr. Grant's terms of 8d. per day for the first class, 6d. per day for the second class, and 4d. per day for the third class, for the month. "In the course of the complaint," says the magistrate, the women insisted that they should not be compelled to work more than four days in the week, assigning as a reason, that they had washing and other domestic duties to perform, to which men are not subject. This," he adds, "seems reasonable, but under the Abrogation Act, to entitle them to a residence on the estate, they must continue to perform the work which may be assigned to them." (Parliamentary papers 1839, part 2, No. 107—4, p. 153.) Our readers will not fail to observe, that women, the wives of the men on the estate, were compelled to perform the work 'assigned to them,' under pain of eviction from the huts of their husbands. On the 13th of the same month Mr. Grant again appeared before the magistrate to prefer a complaint against some labourers from Aker's marriage estate, "for refusing to work for 8d. sterling per day, or remove from said estate." They were compelled to submit also. As a further illustration of the working of the system pursued by the planters, we give the case of Adam and Trum, from the same records. "Adam, a labourer on Penniston's estate, claims an exemption



from labour, and a right of residence on the estate, for his wife. Trum does not claim the same right for his wife, but they will only consent to labour for three days." The magistrate decided against Adam, though "it may appear," he observes, "repugnant to the right which a man unquestionably has, of receiving his wife into his habitation," but he grounds his decision on the abrogation law, and says that "but for such restraints, the provisions of the act would be a nullity." Trum fared no better. The consequence of this state of things was as might have been expected. The negroes left the estates, or as Mr. Grant says, became "squatters" in considerable numbers. It was evident, however, that this gentleman's notion of squatting was different from that of the committee's. By squatting he meant "they were buying land of their own, doing that which they consider to better their own interests, buying small freeholds." (Queries 135 to 142, inclusive.) Such negroes, he states, become jobbers; they refuse to work in the cane-field because they find "it less profitable" than other labour about which they employ themselves. (Queries 143, to 145, inclusive). He has known labourers give as much as £60 per acre for provision lands near the estates to which they were formerly attached, and £7 per acre, per annum, when let to them; they prefer hiring cultivated land to settling upon uncultivated soils; and the number employing themselves apart from sugar estates, notwithstanding "the high price they pay for the land," is increasing; and this holds good of the mountain districts as well as the valleys and the plains, (Queries 143 to 145—204—273 to 275—and 556 to 559 inclusive). Thus has a short-sighted policy, an odious attempt to coerce labour from freemen, met with its just reward. In 1834, Mr. Grant informed the committee, the number of labourers on the estates in St. Vincent, inclusive of those in the dependencies, was 14,797; in 1841, they amounted to 8536, (Query 556).

Subsequently to the disallowance of the acts referred to, several less objectionable laws have been substituted for them. Into the particular provisions of these laws we cannot enter farther than to say, they place the master and servant in a better position towards each other; though we fear they were enacted too late to prevent the mischiefs and heart-burnings to which the original enactments coupled with the past conduct of the planters in St. Vincent gave rise. But whatever may be the law, practically the old system is attempted to be worked out under it; the planters being unwilling to part with the power they conceive they possess, by refusing to rent the huts and provision grounds to the people, leaving them free to choose their own employer. According to Mr. Grant, their language is, "if a labourer does not work for us, walk away; your house is given to some one else in your room," in fact "they hold the house and land on condition of their working for their master" (Queries 260 and 264.) And this miserable expedient to obtain labour on their own terms, is defeating itself; the people are retiring as rapidly as possible from the estates; whereas, if there were free negro villages established on the various properties, there is every probability that the people would give more work to them than they now do, a better feeling be generated, and though the negro would then be free, which he ought to be, to sell his labour at the best market, the master would derive rent for his huts and grounds, equivalent to any rise in the value of labour that might take place; but no, say they, "if we let a man pay rent, we make that man a tenant, and must give him six months' notice," and "no tenant can be compelled to quit until he reaps his crop, or without six months' notice" (Queries 265 and 266). Thus to have the power of instant ejection, in other words, the power of coercion, is, with the planters of St. Vincent, a *sine qua non*. We doubt, however, whether they are legally in possession of this power. We contend that the labourers, under the present system, are tenants at will, paying rent for their huts and grounds in the shape of labour or service, and that they are as much entitled to the occupancy of their huts, and to reap the fruits from their provision grounds, as though they paid rent in the shape of money for the same. And, as a consequence, we are of opinion that they are as fully entitled to due notice to quit, as much so as if they were renters in any other form than the present.

In the reports of the stipendiary magistrates, made in the early part of the present year, on the "relations between the peasantry and proprietor," they observe that "contracts for labour are from month to month; the labourer will not engage for a longer period. Tenancy, in consideration of the payment of rent, is unknown. The condition invariably implies the performance of labour, for the benefit of the proprietor, by husband, wife, and every grown male and female member of a family; in general, for five days weekly." \* \* \* \* "The labourers have their houses and grounds free of rent; the latter consists of seventy feet square of yam-ground, and as much land for other provisions as they require; they work the first five days in the week at eight-pence sterling per day." (West India Colonies, No. 479, 1842, pp. 747 and 752). The contracts are implied, depending upon occupancy of huts and grounds, not mutual as they ought to be. The labourer, therefore, seizes the first moment of escape, and hence, "to possess a freehold seems the peasant's ambition." (Ibid, p. 747). And a laudable ambition it is.

The last mail brings the gratifying intelligence that the crop of the island for the present year exceeds that of the last considerably. The account stands thus:—1841, Sugar, 8,009 hogsheads, 372 tierces, and 165 barrels; 1842, 8,504 hogsheads, 381 tierces, and 282 barrels; showing an increase of 495 hogsheads, 9 tierces, and 117 barrels. Molasses and rum in proportion.

## UNITED STATES: SLAVERY AS IT IS.

[Extract of a letter written in New Orleans, in April, 1834, to a friend of the writer's residing at Philadelphia.]

I now come to the subject of slavery. Its institution is unnatural—its duration impossible; for God has willed the progress of knowledge and the expansion of light, and the duration of slavery involves a perfect and continued sympathy between ignorance and knowledge, immorality and virtue, childhood and maturity.

I consider the people of the south (as a mass) at least a century behind the people of the free states in moral polity. You feel a suspicion of this as you cross the Potomac; it grows towards belief as you proceed southward; and when you have reached this place, you are fraught full of the frightful conviction that you are no longer in a country of morals and laws.

Murders, assassinations, duels—your sensibilities are benumbed by their repetition. I could cite instances upon instances, until the current of feeling would be choked up. Why, only this day week, in the evening, at the theatre, the French Consul received a challenge in the foyer (saloon), or rather he refused to accept the letter in that place, saying that he would be in his office on the morrow. The messenger returned with his principal; the one threw the letter in the Consul's face, the other called him a black-guard. Some of the influential Creoles took part with the Consul, who insisted upon bringing the insult to the usual arbitrement. The challengers (two young Creoles,) were asked what motive they had for the offence. *O rien*, (they replied) *excepté que nous avions entendu dire que Mons. S. était homme de courage, et nous voulions l'essayer!* And for this trivial reason they sought the life of a married man with young children, who, even in the more fortunate alternative, would have been deprived of his official station. Fortunately they found that Mr. S. was a man of courage, so much so, that they made to him ample written apologies, alleging that they were under the influence of wine. Now, at the north, in any of the free states, would not the community have risen *en masse* against such swashbucklers! Here, there was a slight and incidental expression of reprobation; and the seconds had great difficulty in bringing the affair to adjustment.

This is but a solitary instance of contempt of law. Disregard of life, the neglect of domestic relations, cruelty to the poor negroes, these almost characterize the Creoles of the higher classes. On the portraiture of this last feature look, and shudder.

About a month ago the house of a rich baker was burned, and a chained negro was found consumed beneath the ruins! This would naturally excite horror, but not unqualified reprobation; for, under this odious system, the chain might have been necessary, and the death may have been unavoidable. I only mention this as an introduction.

Three days ago a series of atrocities was brought to light, such as belief withers from compassing. Amongst the dramatic pieces that the vitiated taste of the day has introduced upon the French stage, you have probably seen "La Tour de Nesle" and "Lucrèce Borgia;" and you have probably condemned them, because the motive of crime was unequal to the result of horrors. Yet, they fall short of last week's realities, for in these there was no motive—nothing but an abstract, demoniacal thirst for blood and torture. I cannot conceive that God should have permitted hell to mould such a monster, unless it was to make the powers of darkness work out their own loss, by hastening, through their own greediness, the abolition of a system so fruitful of crimes.

There is a Creole woman of this place, aged about forty, distinguished in Creole society by passing grace and amenity, an angel of sweetness in manner and demeanour. She has been twice a widow, and is now the wife of a French physician, some years a resident of this place. Her husband is said to be accessory to her crimes; but I do not speak of him, for he is a mere pussillanimous slave—as abject as any of her black victims.

A fire broke out in this woman's house three mornings ago. The chief engineer stated that it was necessary to break open a sort of "keep," which the flames had seized. Madame L. resisted, averring that it contained only old furniture of no value. But information was given that it enclosed imprisoned slaves, and it was broken open. They found and rescued, here and in other parts of the house, seven slaves, male and female, from the age of sixty to that of sixteen, in such a state of emaciation and suffering as you cannot suppose animal nature capable of enduring. I saw the poor wretches myself; and, from the partial examination my nerves allowed me to make, I can implicitly believe all that is said of the means of torture employed by this female demon. To whip their naked bodies until they were one festering sore was not enough; to tear and lacerate the breasts of women did not satiate this vulture; to portion out to them a pittance of food and water barely sufficient to keep them alive still stunted her craving. No—she had mechanical tortures, such as the inquisition had failed to contrive. A bed that had been used in Paris to remedy a defect in the spine of her own daughter was converted by this Procrustes into an implement of torture. The iron collar was garnished with spikes to press against the chin of the intended victim. Others wore yokes of iron with edges on the inside to keep the head immovable. She crowned the poor wretches at times with an iron band, which, through means of a screw, gradually pressed spikes into their heads. She had too a chair bristling with nails, in which she caused them to be seated; and, when the too copious effusion of blood threatened to outrun the scanty supplying of their food, she would sear the wounds with



hot irons! Then, in her mood of more tranquil enjoyment, she would visit her victims in their dungeons, inhale the pestilential effluvia from their sores, feel and gauge the thickening scab and the deepening wound, and contemplate the worms making merry in their banquetings! You—a creature of God—can you believe this? I could not have believed it a week ago; but now I do.

This fury, since the death of her second husband, has destroyed forty-six out of forty-seven slaves that her husband left to her. Last year two threw themselves from the house-roof. Three days ago one set fire to the house, as a means of terminating her sufferings, and those of her fellows. She lives on murder and bloodshed, and—shame to human nature! she lives unpunished.

It must be a subject of nice and curious speculation with the demons of hell (for men it would be too revolting)—to fathom the sources and trace the currents of this woman's infernal instincts and aspirations. Not satisfied with those she may have, her longings are for fresh victims: and youth, and health, and the hilarious impulses which a beneficent God has given to the long-suffering African race, only stimulate her cravings for power and possession—the power to torture and the possession in misery—which seem to constitute her life's aim. I am acquainted with a very worthy quadroon woman, who owns two female slaves to whom she is gentle and kind; and they seem content and happy. She told me yesterday, that Madame L. had often appeared to be struck with the gaiety of one, a girl of fifteen, and at last had made the most seductive offers for her purchase:—*Madame, quelle charmante petite negresse vous avez la! Voulez-vous me faire le bonheur de me la vendre?* She had marked the joyousness of the poor girl, and her imagination had gloated over the contrast that might be wrought, until she could no longer resist the desire of enjoying it. Fortunately for the poor negress, my acquaintance knew her too well not to resist her offers, and her fascinations—for fascinating she is, and she has been most beautiful. Oh! who would bow to the shrine of beauty, when he reflects that the most bewitching exterior can mask such hideous deformity of soul! Yes, she was in her youth, I am told, of surpassing loveliness: so much so, indeed, that, her first marriage having involved the forfeiture of his commission to her husband, an officer of the Spanish army (you know that no public officer of Spain can marry without the consent of his sovereign), she, confident in her power of blandishment, went to Spain, placed herself in the king's way, and throwing herself at his feet, besought her husband's pardon. "Madam," said the king, raising her, "your husband is pardoned; the temptation was so great that the offence must have been unavoidable." But to return.

After having seen her victims, I was almost frantic. I wanted to instigate the people to break open her house, seize her, and burn her. At night I went to her house, with no fixed purpose, but under an instinctive feeling that something of retribution would be done. The work of revenge was going on gloriously. The people, finding that she had been suffered to escape without an effort on the part of the authorities, had broken open her house; and, from one nearly opposite, I had the satisfaction of seeing all her costly furniture, plate, mirrors, every thing, shattered and thrown into the street. Windows, doors, balconies, almost the walls themselves, are destroyed. It was expected that the next night the mob would make a similar attack upon the house of Madame L.—e, the cousin and compeer in crime of this monster; but now the armed force was on the alert, for the exalted feeling of vengeance that had animated the first actors in this justifiable demolition, had been succeeded by the love of pillage in the baser order of the populace. So now all is quiet again, except that it constitutes the subject of conversation, but not of newspaper disquisition. No, only two newspapers, the *Bee* and the *Courier*, have had the independence to recount these horrors without reserve! Amongst foreigners and strangers there are none but the feelings of execration against this woman, commiseration of the slaves, horror at the insufficiency of the laws, exultation that public feeling had manifested itself in the absence of legal representation. But in the minds of the Creoles, all these feelings seem to be swallowed up in a sense of danger—the danger of precedent, the infraction of the inviolateness of property. Base egoists! Why, when, four years ago, this same woman was arraigned, did they truckle to her family influence and wealth, and let her escape? Why have they let their statute book be polluted by the awarding of a fine of five hundred dollars (!!!), and disqualification from holding slaves, to those who punish them even to death? No, no, their own cruelty is but largely mirrored in this woman's atrocities.

#### DR. MADDEN AND SIR JOHN JEREMIE.

As it cannot but be interesting to our readers to know what view was entertained of Dr. Madden's proceedings on the Gold Coast, and what part was taken in them, by that distinguished friend of humanity, the late Sir John Jeremie, at that time governor of Sierra Leone, we publish, according to our promise, the following correspondence from the Appendix to the Report of the West African Committee.

SIR JOHN JEREMIE TO DR. MADDEN.

Government House, Freetown, 5th March, 1841.

MY DEAR DR. MADDEN—Herewith you will receive, by favour of Captain Tucker, several sets of a proclamation having reference principally, though I fear not exclusively, to the part of the coast you are now at, and to which, if it were not for your being there, I should immediately pro-

ceed. But I am aware that your investigations are directed to collateral subjects, if not immediately to this one, and am anxious to avoid even the appearance of a gratuitous interference with duties which you are so competent to discharge.

As it is possible, however, that this particular point is not specifically mentioned in your commission, I send you herewith a justice of the peace's appointment, which you can avail yourself of if you see fit, or deem it necessary.

The law of the case is incontrovertible: by 5 Geo. 4, cap. 113, s. 2, all dealing in slaves whatever is unlawful, except in such special cases as are mentioned in that very act.

The third section sets forth the pecuniary mulct, and the tenth makes all such dealings a felony, with transportation or hard labour.

The thirteenth section points out the special cases excepted, which are solely dealing or trading in slaves lawfully being in any British territory, with the true intent and purpose of employing them in that territory.

So that thenceforth no new slaves could be lawfully introduced into the British territories, nor could any British subject deal in slaves in any other part of the world.

So stood the law from June 1824 to 28th August, 1833; when, by 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 73, s. 12, it was further enacted, "That from and after the 1st of August, 1834, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." Consequently, as slavery was already rendered unlawful everywhere else, it is now unlawful everywhere, unless an exception can be found in its favour in that very act, and the only exceptions are in section sixty-four, which comprises only India, Ceylon, and St. Helena.

These parties, it is said, allege that they have not obtained compensation. This may be a reason for seeking an indemnification, but it is no excuse for their committing felony.

As it does not appear desirable to go further at present than to proclaim the law, and as Captain Tucker, exercising, I conceive, a very sound judgment, does not intend to proceed to coercion by seizure of the slaves for full six weeks, so as to enable the parties to liberate them spontaneously, I would, were I in your place, confine my proceedings principally to making more complete inquiry; but I would ascertain, as fully as I could, where these people came from, how they are supported, how punished, whether any of the mitigatory enactments of the British slave colonies were legally in force there; if it be alleged they are free, what wages they receive for their labour, whether they are bought or sold, or bequeathed, or pawned. The latter I am told is common, and there can be no doubt that it is "a trading in slaves;" and in all these matters I would be as specific as I could as to names, time, and place.

I am also very desirous of directing your attention to the danger of any of these persons being removed or withdrawn from British protection.

In closing this painful subject, I can only assure you that, if you think my going down will be of material assistance, I shall, although my time is much occupied, proceed there on the first notification from you or Captain Tucker. Believe me, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN JEREMIE.

The following is the proclamation alluded to in the foregoing letter.

Proclamation by his Excellency Sir JOHN JEREMIE, &c. &c. &c.

JOHN JEREMIE—Whereas undoubted information has been conveyed to us that the practice of holding persons in slavery prevails in certain parts of the British territories of Africa within the limits of this government, viz. 20th degree north to 20th degree south, as aforesaid: Now, therefore, be it known, that by the several acts of parliament, viz. 5 Geo. 4, c. 13, and 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 73, commonly called the Slave-Trade Abolition Act, and the Slave Emancipation Act, it is unlawful for any person to hold slaves in a British territory, or for a British subject to hold slaves in any country whatever, except India, St. Helena, and Ceylon, and that in all such cases the holders are liable to severe punishment, and the persons thus unlawfully held in slavery to seizure and confiscation.

And whereas undoubted information has been further conveyed to us, that it is not unusual for traders to take persons in pawn within the said limits; be it therefore also known that such holding in pawn is a holding in slavery within the meaning of these acts; and we do hereby strictly enjoin and require all officers, civil and military, all officers of cities, towns, and others, her Majesty's loyal subjects, to aid and assist in the execution of the laws.

Given at Government House, Freetown, in the said colony, this 4th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1841, and of her Majesty's reign the fourth. By command of his Excellency the Governor.

(Signed)

N. W. MACDONALD, Colonial Secretary.

God save the Queen.

The spirit and determination here shown by the lamented Jeremie are noble, and worthy of the highest admiration. The course adopted by him is thus noticed by the government.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL to the officer administering the government of Sierra Leone.

Downing-street, 8th July, 1841.

SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your predecessor's despatch, No. 28, of the 4th of March, with its enclosures, relating to the practices which have been discovered to exist on the Gold Coast, of holding persons in slavery, and of taking persons in pawn; and I have to acquaint you, that I entirely approve the proclamation which he promulgated under date of the 4th of March last, declaring those practices to be illegal.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. RUSSELL.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL to CAPTAIN MACLEAN.

Downing-street, 14th July, 1841.

The proclamation of the late Sir John Jeremie is nothing more than the affirmation of a principle of law, regarding which it is impossible that any doubt should arise. Perhaps, indeed, the mere words of that proclamation may not have been accurately chosen. It declares it to be unlawful for any persons to hold slaves in a British territory. To that extent it is indisputably correct. The additional declaration, that it is unlawful for a British subject to hold slaves in any country whatever, except India, St. Helena, and Ceylon, is a wider assertion than I apprehend can



strictly be made; for the laws of Great Britain are, of course, binding only within the British dominions, except in a few peculiar cases where the municipal law attaches to a British subject even in a foreign land. Treason is the most familiar instance of an exception of this kind. But I do not understand that a British subject would incur any penalty which would be enforced against him in British courts of justice, by holding men in slavery within the limits of any country by the law of which slavery is permitted.

This distinction is of great practical importance in reference to the British forts on the Gold Coast. Her Majesty's dominion on that coast is, as I understand, of very narrow local range. If I am correctly informed, it extends only to the forts themselves. Whatever influence Great Britain may exercise beyond those precincts, my supposition is, that beyond the very walls of the forts there is no sovereignty, properly speaking, vested in the British crown; but that the whole adjacent country is subject to the dominion of the native powers.

My information on this subject may be defective or erroneous; but, if I am rightly informed respecting it, it follows that, within the fort of Cape Coast Castle, a different rule of law regarding slavery may prevail from that which exists beyond those limits. Within them the statute 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 73, is unquestionably in force. Beyond them it is not so.

#### NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of Mr. Phillippo, inserted in our last, was addressed, not to the rev. T. Swan, but to Mr. Joseph Sturge.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

### Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 28TH.

WE have great pleasure in giving to-day an extract—too short—from Mr. Dickens's *American Notes*. The genuine humanity and love of freedom which breathe in his remarks cannot be too much honoured; nor can the moral bravery with which he has sacrificed, by the utterance of them, a large proportion of his otherwise unlimited popularity in the United States.

WE have the pleasure of announcing that the rev. T. Spencer, T. Hunt, and W. Blair, esqs., have been appointed delegates from Bath to the next Anti-slavery Convention.

WE find in one of Dr. Madden's letters to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* the following exhibition of a certain Mr. Hughes:—

There is a person of the name of Hughes, connected with the house of Mr. Forster's brother at the Gambia, who acts in the capacity chiefly of its factor at Cacheo, the Cassamanra, and Bissao, who has lately taken an active part on behalf of the interests of those places, and is likely to become distinguished in the service of them. He has contrived to enter into correspondence with the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. In this correspondence he takes up the defence of his friends, the slave-dealers of Bissao, and brings charges of very grave importance against officers in the British service, on the evidence, too, of one of the principal merchants in this vile traffic, the notorious Nozolini (better known by the name of Caetano), whose declaration is annexed to this correspondence.

The lords commissioners of the admiralty, knowing little of Mr. John Hughes, have been led into a correspondence with this man, and advantage is taken of their condescension to promote the interests of the Portuguese miscreants who carry on the slave-trade on the coast. The communication to them and their answer to it have been printed by this party, in the form of a circular, in the Portuguese language as well as in English, for extensive distribution, of course throughout the Portuguese slave factories along that part of the coast of Africa. In this country it was intended for private distribution only, and was thus stealthily circulated by Mr. John Hughes within the last four or five days. I send you, sir, the precious document in the original, with the initials of Mr. Hughes, and in his handwriting, at the top of this printed paper. On the first page the correspondence with the lords of the admiralty is printed in English; on the other side it is given *verbatim* in Portuguese, and on the next page the document purporting to be the deposition or declaration of Senhor Nozolini is given in the Portuguese language only. For what object this latter document is printed in that language, and not in English, it is not difficult to divine. It is evident the place where use is to be made of it is at the Portuguese factories on the coast—that the object is to furnish the notorious Caetano with suitable materials for another deposition, or to open to him a new channel for the heavy charges of rapine and murder which he has brought against British officers and seamen."

This same gentleman, who so kindly patronizes the slave-dealers of Bissao, has done us the honour of a communication, which we copy with literal accuracy below:—

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Society*.

22, Upper Baker Street, 2nd Dec., 1842.

SIR,—When you have finished emitting your anti-slavery slaver in libels on the African merchants, who do more to put down slavery in a day than you and your society will do in fifty years, perhaps you will be able to find room in your slanderous and mendacious *Reporter* for the article in the inclosed paper, the *British Queen*. You will find in it some admirable advice, and if you, and those who pay you for your libellous labours, will apply the lesson properly, it will be of the greatest service to you.

The exposures now in progress, provoked by your hypocrisy and slanders, will teach you the homely lesson that honesty is the best policy. Try to get an honest penny by some honest trade, and leave off begging under the

mask of humanity; leave the cause of the negro to those really and sincerely his friend, and save him from the mock friendship of trading sympathisers, like Messrs. Scoble, Madden, and co.

I know you all well in many ways, and particularly from having been the object of your libels.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,  
JOHN HUGHES.

The article in the *British Queen* to which our courteous monitor refers us, we have duly read; but, even as abuse, it is of too ordinary a quality to be worth inserting. Mr. Baker's effusion, not of "slaver," but of gall, is sufficiently accounted for by his connexion with the house of Forster and Co., and is no doubt a part of the tactics by which the nefarious commerce of that firm is to be protected, if possible, from public reprobation. By the sharpness with which the wasps try to sting, we could almost imagine that their nest was on fire.

ALTHOUGH we have not received any further number of the *Latimer Journal*, we are happy to find from other papers that George Latimer is free. We have given the details in another column. From what a fearful destiny he has been rescued may appear from the following circumstance, related and affirmed by Mr. Amos B. Merrill:—

I asked Latimer if he ever expressed to Gray, or any one else, a willingness to go back to Norfolk. He said, "No, never; I would rather die than go back. Gray has just been here, trying to get me to say that I will go back willingly. I turned my back on him, and would not speak to him. He said if I would go back peaceably, there should be no more trouble—he would take me out of jail, and use me well. I then turned towards him, and said, 'Mr. Gray, when you get me back to Norfolk, you may kill me.' Gray, setting his teeth together, answered, 'No, I won't kill you, I'll load you with chains, I'll make you follow me night and day through the streets with a ball chained to each foot, as an example—I'll kill you by inches!'"

When Latimer pronounced these words, his horror-struck look, as if the image of future tortures rose before him, the tones of his voice, and every motion of his body, proclaimed that he spoke the truth.

THE appeal of the *United Service Gazette* to Mr. Cook, the fourth commissioner, in relation to Captain Maclean's pawn, has issued in his declining to enter into any further explanation, on official and very proper grounds. He will fully report the case, of course, to the government. The statement is given below from the *Gazette*.

We have endeavoured, not unsuccessfully we hope, to expose the enormous atrocity of the pawn system of slavery practised up to the present moment on the Western Coast of Africa, not only with the authority, but actually by the governor of Cape Coast Castle himself! We lately instanced the fact, that, when her Majesty's ship *Wilberforce* was at that station, Mr. MACLEAN, the governor, came on board the vessel and claimed possession of an African who had been hired by Mr. CARR, the superintendent of the model farm, on the ground that he was a pawn. To their discredit be it written, three of the commissioners (naval officers) consented to give back this poor wretch to slavery. The fourth, a civilian, viewing the demand in its proper light, protested in the most earnest manner against the restitution of the pawn, who had been pledged to the master who claimed him by his father, for money for a drunken debauch over the dead body of his wife; and for whose liberation after having worked three years as a blacksmith, a considerably larger sum was demanded than that for which he had been originally pawned!! Finding, however, the majority of his associate commissioners prepared to admit Mr. MACLEAN's claim to the man, Mr. Cook, the civil commissioner, purchased his freedom.

The article from which we have made this extract is seasoned with a bitter reference to "Exeter Hall philanthropists," the design of which we cannot pretend to penetrate. Its injustice is obvious on the face of it.

THE *Morning Herald* announces an important sequence to Lord Aberdeen's despatch on the destruction of slave-barracoons, and the letter of the admiralty which has just appeared in the papers. It speaks as follows:—

We have now to inform the public that the Earl of Aberdeen, feeling the extreme importance, in the present excitable state of temper which now so unfortunately exists in France with reference to our proceedings to put down the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, that the instructions given to the British squadron in those seas should be most scrupulously and strictly in accordance with the law of nations, has appointed a commission to frame a series of orders for that squadron which shall be impregnable to legal objections, and agreeable to the stipulations of our slave-trade treaties with foreign powers. The gentlemen to whom this important task has been confided are Sir Stephen Lushington, the Honorable Captain Denman, R.N., an officer of great naval experience on the coast, Mr. Rothery, a well known and experienced civilian of Doctors' Commons, much employed by government in matters relating to the coast and the slave-trade, and Mr. Bandinell, of the foreign-office, the author of a semi-official memoir of the diplomatic efforts of England to suppress the detestable traffic in human beings, lately published.

#### THE ASHBURTON TREATY.

THE late arrivals from the United States have brought the President's message on the opening of Congress. We extract what refers to the African slave-trade.

By the tenth article of the treaty of Ghent it was expressly declared, that "whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas both his majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their



best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object." In the enforcement of the laws and treaty stipulations of Great Britain, a practice had threatened to grow up on the part of its cruisers of subjecting to visitation ships sailing under the American flag, which, while it seriously involved our maritime rights, would subject to vexation a branch of our trade which was increasing, and which required the fostering care of the government.

And although Lord Aberdeen, in his correspondence with the American envoys at London, expressly disclaimed all right to detain any American ship on the high seas, even if found with a cargo of slaves on board, and restricted the British pretension to a mere claim to visit and inquire, yet it could not well be discerned by the executive of the United States how such visit and inquiry could be made without detention on the voyage, and consequent interruption to the trade. It was regarded as the right of search, presented only in a new form, and expressed in different words; and I therefore felt it to be my duty distinctly to declare, in my annual message to Congress, that no such concession could be made, and that the United States had both the will and the ability to enforce their own laws, and to protect their flag from being used for purposes wholly forbidden by those laws, and obnoxious to the moral censure of the world.

Taking the message as his letter of instructions, our then minister at Paris felt himself required to assume the same ground, in a remonstrance which he felt it his duty to present to M. Guizot, and through him to the King of the French, against what has been called the quintuple treaty; and his conduct in this respect met with the approval of this government. In close conformity with these views, the eighth article of the treaty was framed, which provides that "each nation shall keep afloat in the African seas, a force not less than eighty guns, to act separately and apart, under instructions from their respective governments, and for the enforcement of their respective laws and obligations." From this it will be seen that the ground assumed in the message has been fully maintained, at the same time that the stipulations of the treaty of Ghent are to be carried out in good faith by the two countries, and that all pretence is removed for interference with our commerce for any purpose whatever by a foreign government.

While, therefore, the United States have been standing up for the freedom of the seas, they have not thought proper to make that a pretext for avoiding a fulfilment of their treaty stipulations, or a ground for giving countenance to a trade reprobated by our laws. A similar arrangement by the other great powers could not fail to sweep from the ocean the slave-trade, without the interpolation of any new principle into the maritime code. We may be permitted to hope that the example thus set will be followed by one, if not all of them. We thereby also afford suitable protection to the fair trader in those seas, thus fulfilling at the same time the dictates of a sound policy, and complying with the claims of justice and humanity.

#### TRINIDAD AUXILIARY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WE have been favoured with a copy of the report of this Society, presented at the Annual Meeting held at Port of Spain on the 1st of August last, together with the speeches delivered on the occasion. As the Report is short, we present it entire.

##### REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1842.

This society has now existed for three years. It was instituted with the view of fostering in the public mind gratitude for the invaluable blessing of emancipation, and of helping to propagate among all classes of the community, a knowledge of the duties which man owes to his brother man, and last but not least, of exciting sympathy for those still enslaved in other lands. This Society never presumed to hope that it would be able to lend pecuniary or other direct or positive assistance to the victims of human rapacity; but confident that the sigh of sympathy is neither unheard nor unheeded by Him "who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will," the members would deem it their duty to associate together, though they could do nothing more, than mourn over the fate of their brethren in bondage.

The society deeply laments the apathy and indirect opposition it has had to encounter. These indeed were anticipated to a certain extent, but it was hoped that time and participation in the blessings of freedom would entirely remove them. This hope has been, as yet, partially disappointed, which has evidently tended to cool the zeal of not a few of the friends of liberty.

The society, while it regrets, cannot wonder at the indifference of the lately emancipated: their former state of mental, as well as physical degradation, affords a sufficient and melancholy reason for their indifference as regards the objects of this society; they are therefore to be pitied, not to be blamed. But it would be hypocrisy to hide the astonishment felt by this society at the apathy manifested by many of the more enlightened and cultivated of African descent in reference to slavery; that insatiable monster that has for ages devoured by millions the harmless and defenceless inhabitants of their father-land, and from whose jaws they themselves so narrowly escaped. That they should be indifferent is truly strange and sad:—Freedom looks entreatingly to the enlightened coloured population of this and of every British colony; from them, surely, she has a right to expect allegiance and zealous support; their devotion to her is justly due. It is the duty of all to rally round the sacred standard of freedom, but it is peculiarly incumbent and imperative on those in whose veins there runs even one drop of honoured African blood, to be found not only in the field of contest, but in the front of the battle.

It was not to be expected that any considerable number of the white population resident in the colony would at first feel disposed to co-operate with, or even approve of the society—their former habits and feelings forbade such an expectation—but their opposition was uncalled for, and might have been spared without any loss either to their interest or their honour. It is right however to state, that they have offered no direct or open opposition to the society, although it is well known, that they have not failed to depreciate its members and objects, in what may be here termed gallery-gossip, and at times have endeavoured to bespatter the members and injure the society by a little harmless *Editorial twaddle*. But of the coldness and covert enmity of those formerly implicated in the sin of slavery, the society would speak tenderly and compassionately, knowing that the human mind can only with great difficulty be

emancipated from the tyranny of hoary habit, and feelings long and fondly cherished; and aware also that nothing has yet been done in this colony to enlighten their minds and introduce them to the heavenly principles of justice and mercy—principles that would have fared no worse amongst us, that would have been as extensively known and embraced, although printing had been an art yet unknown in Trinidad. This the society regrets, and may attempt to remedy at no distant day.

But the Society would forget the little local difficulties with which it has to contend, and contemplate with gratitude and delight the progress, which the cause of freedom is making throughout the world. In America the stronghold of slavery, abolition principles are gradually and irresistibly spreading, and at no remote period, the destruction of the diabolical system of human bondage is certain; nothing more surely indicates its speedy dissolution than the infuriated fury of its abettors; their darling system must be in the most imminent danger when it is being defended with such demoniac desperation. The society devoutly desires that freedom may there, as well as everywhere else, obtain a bloodless triumph; but it cannot rid itself of the fear lest her banner be crimsoned in the contest, although of the result it does not entertain a doubt.

France is bestirring herself, and concerting measures for the amelioration of her captives, and is even looking forward to the entire abolition of slavery. Some of the greatest of her great men are numbered with the friends of freedom. The minor powers, Spain, Portugal and Denmark, will be driven by the force of public opinion, and from regard to their own interest or safety, to regenerate the cruel system of slavery, and ultimately to follow the high and holy example of Britain.

The society would mention with very sincere joy, the fact, that that Pontiff of Rome has issued a bull prohibiting the slave-trade. This is a fatal stroke given to slavery in the papal dominions.

In conclusion, the society feels greatly encouraged by the aspect of the nations, as regards the object which it solely seeks to promote. There are many evident indications of the approach of a better and happier state of things. Knowledge, the foe of domination, and the leveller of all unwarranted distinctions, is being fast disseminated, and cannot fail ultimately, to eradicate slavery.

"Come hallow'd era,  
When sacred justice shall unaw'd preside,  
O'er all the acts of men."

#### MR. DICKENS ON SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

From his *American Notes for General Circulation*.

THE ground most commonly taken by these better men among the advocates of slavery is this:—"It is a bad system; and for myself I would willingly get rid of it, if I could, most willingly. But it is not so bad as you in England take it to be. You are deceived by the representations of the emancipationists. The greater part of my slaves are much attached to me. You will say that I do not allow them to be severely treated; but I will put it to you whether you believe that it can be a general practice to treat them inhumanly, when it would impair their value, and would be obviously against the interests of their masters."

Is it the interest of any man to steal, to game, to waste his health and mental faculties in drunkenness, to lie, forswear himself, indulge hatred, seek deperate revenge, or do murder? No. All these are roads to ruin. And why, then, do men tread them? Because such inclinations are among the vicious qualities of mankind. Blot out, ye friends of slavery, from the catalogue of human passions, brutal lust, cruelty, and the abuse of irresponsible power (of all earthly temptations the most difficult to be resisted), and when ye have done so, and not before, we will inquire whether it be the interest of a master to lash and maim the slaves, over whose life and limbs he has an absolute control.

But again: this class, together with the last one I have named, the miserable aristocracy spawned of a false republic, lift up their voices and exclaim, "Public opinion is all-sufficient to prevent such cruelty as you denounce." Public opinion in the slave states is slavery, is it not? Public opinion in the slave states has delivered the slaves over to the gentle mercies of their masters. Public opinion has made the laws, and denied them legislative protection. Public opinion has knotted the lash, heated the branding-iron, loaded the rifle, and shielded the murderer. Public opinion threatens the abolitionist with death, if he venture to the south; and drags him with a rope about his middle, in broad unblushing noon, through the first city in the east. Public opinion has, within a few years, burned a slave alive at a slow fire in the city of St. Louis; and public opinion has to this day maintained upon the bench that estimable judge who charged the jury, impelled there to try his murderers, that their most horrid deed was an act of public opinion, and being so, must not be punished by the laws the public sentiment had made. Public opinion hailed this doctrine with a howl of wild applause, and set the prisoners free, to walk the city, men of mark, and influence, and station, as they had been before.

Public opinion! what class of men have an immense preponderance over the rest of the community, in their power of representing public opinion in the legislature? The slave-owners. They send from their twelve states one hundred members, while the fourteen free states, with a free population nearly double, return but a hundred and forty-two. Before whom do the presidential candidates bow down the most humbly, on whom do they fawn the most fondly, and for whose tastes do they cater the most assiduously in their servile protestations? The slave-owners always.

Public opinion! hear the public opinion of the free south, as expressed by its own members in the house of representatives at Washington. "I have a great respect for the chair," quoth North Carolina, "I have a great respect for him personally; nothing but that respect prevents me from rushing to the table and tearing that petition which has just been presented for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia to pieces."—"I warn the abolitionists," says South Carolina, "ignorant, infuriated barbarians as they are, that if chance shall throw any of them into our hands he may expect a felon's death."—"Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina," cried a third, mild Carolina's colleague, "and if we can catch him we will try him, and notwithstanding the interference of all the governments on earth, including the federal government, we will hang him."

Public opinion has made this law. It has declared that in Washington, in that city which takes its name from the father of American liberty, any justice of the peace may bind with fetters any negro passing down the



street, and thrust him into gaol: no offence on the black man's part is necessary. The justice says, "I choose to think this man a runaway;" and locks him up. Public opinion empowers the man of law, when this is done, to advertise the negro in the newspapers, warning his owner to come and claim him, or he will be sold to pay the gaol fees. But supposing he is a free black, and has no owner, it may naturally be presumed that he is set at liberty. No: he is sold to recompense his jailor. This has been done again, and again, and again. He has no means of proving his freedom; has no adviser, messenger, or assistance of any sort or kind; no investigation into his case is made, or inquiry instituted. He, a free man, who may have served for years, and bought his liberty, is thrown into gaol on no process, for no crime, and on no pretence of crime: and is sold to pay the gaol fees. This seems incredible, even of America, but it is the law.

#### THE SLAVE TRADE.

(From the *Hamburger Nachrichten*).

The question of the slave trade having been of late so frequently a topic of discussion, it may not be disagreeable to your readers to know something of the enormous profit made by West Indian and North American slave-dealers; I shall, therefore, hand you for publication a letter addressed to me when I was in America, in 1841, proposing to me to take a share in a speculation of the kind.

The original was written in French, and was addressed to me by Captain Auguste L., one of the most notorious slave-dealers, and was delivered to me by his own hand.

The calculations of Captain L., it will be seen, are not quite accurately summed up; still I have sent them as they are, a nearly literal translation, without altering any part of the original.

HEINRICH FLINDT.

CONTO FINTO OF THE PROBABLE RESULT OF A CARGO OF 250 NEGROS.

##### Preliminary Expenses.

	Dollars.
Purchase of a suitable vessel .....	4,000
Equipment and advance to the crew .....	2,000
300 muskets, of the usual quality .....	700
600 machetes, or negro knives .....	300
1,500 pieces of calico, gingham, &c. ....	3,000
1,000 pieces of cloth .....	1,000
1,000 lbs. of tobacco .....	200
1,500 lbs. of gunpowder .....	400
800 casks of tafia .....	200
Bullets, flints, knives, and looking glasses .....	400
Fittings up between the decks, chains, 300 small demi feannes, water casks, and medicine chests .....	800
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>13,000</b>

The captain's wages are 150 dollars a month, besides 12 per cent. on the gross produce of the slaves. The first mate's wages are 80 dollars a month, and four dollars a head on each negro; the second mate 60 dollars, and two dollars a head. The cook receives monthly 50 dollars, the carpenter 50 dollars, and each sailor 35 dollars.

##### Expenses after landing the negros.

	Dollars.
To be paid to the captain and crew, say .....	16,000
To the consignee .....	4,000
To the governor, one ounce per head .....	4,000
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>24,000</b>

The value of the ship remains to the owners, say 2,500 dollars, and might be sold to cover the cost of lodging, and feeding the cargo till the sale.

The gross proceeds of the sale, estimating the 250 negros to bring the very low price of 22 Spanish ounces, or 374 dollars a head (they seldom bring less than 400 dollars), would be .....

Deduct expenses .....

There will remain a net profit of .....

Every thousand dollar share will, therefore, produce 4,345 dollars netto. The equipment may take place either at Havana or in the United States. In the latter case, however, the muskets and machetes must be bought at Havana, as these articles would not be easily obtained in an American harbour.

It will be well to let the equipment begin immediately, as about four months are required to complete the affair, namely, between the departure from Havana and the return thither. It would be possible, therefore, to be back in August, and at this season there are few or no cruizers to be apprehended, most of them taking shelter for the winter in the harbours. The moment of landing the slaves is, perhaps, the only one of real danger.

It would be better, in many respects, that this affair should be undertaken in shares.

#### THE CASE OF GEORGE LATIMER.

From the *Liberator*.

GEORGE LATIMER was held as a slave by James B. Gray, of Norfolk, Virginia. He says his former mistress emancipated him by will, that his mother saw the will after the old lady's decease, but the heirs destroyed it, and held him until he was sold to Gray. Having no redress, he fled, with his wife, now on the eve of her confinement, and came to Boston, where he was immediately followed by Gray, who had him committed on a charge of larceny in Virginia. This, it appears, was a mere pretence, in fraud of the law, in order to get him into possession without a breach of the peace, under the extraordinary decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*. Latimer's wife has not been taken. A habeas corpus was taken out by Messrs. Sewall and Merrill, and Mr. Stratton, the officer who held him in custody, justified his detention, first under the police warrant, and then under a power of attorney from Gray to hold him as a slave. Chief Justice Shaw said the decision of the Supreme Court authorized the owner of a fugitive slave to arrest him whenever he could find him, and the state courts could not interfere, and the writ therefore was discharged. Latimer was then taken before the police court, and ordered to give bail in 1000 dollars for his appearance to answer. Bail was immediately offered, when, lo! the prosecution for theft was immedi-

ately abandoned—showing it to have been a mere fraud upon the law. Latimer never could have been taken by Gray as a slave, but, being once in custody, and in irons, the false imprisonment as a thief was abandoned and the poor victim removed to jail, where he is still held, under the following extraordinary warrant, which we wish every citizen of Massachusetts to read, and see to what base uses the commonwealth jails are prostituted. Such an instrument ought to be dated at Constantinople instead of Boston:—

"To the Jailor of the County of Suffolk:—Sir, George Latimer, a negro slave and belonging to me, and a fugitive from my service, and living in Norfolk, in the state of Virginia, who is now committed to your custody by John Wilson, my agent and attorney, I request and DIRECT you to hold on my account, at my costs, until removed by me according to law.

"Boston October 21, 1842.

"Witness—E. G. Austin.

JAMES B. GRAY.

"Boston, October 21, 1842.—I hereby promise to pay to the keeper of the jail any sum due to him for keeping the body of said Latimer, on demand.

E. G. AUSTIN."

A writ de homine replegiando, under the statute of Massachusetts, was next sued out, but the jailor refused to obey it. A second habeas corpus was then brought, and again the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts decided that the above warrant is good authority for the imprisonment of a man! What will Westminster Hall say to that?

When Latimer was removed from the police court to the jail, it is said there were so great apprehensions of a rescue that two constables suffered themselves to be handcuffed to him for security. The supreme court of Massachusetts held its sitting on the last habeas corpus in the precinct of the jail, through fear. The vast body of people who crowded Faneuil Hall were in our favour, but a few white slaves and hired bullies were allowed to disturb us without restraint. It is currently reported that Gray has told Latimer, that, if he gets him into his power, he will not kill him outright, but will kill him by inches! It is also said that he has threatened to chain an iron ball to each foot, and drive him about the country until his life is worn out. Latimer's wife, of course, is in great distress, and, under her circumstances, fatal results are apprehended! When Latimer was brought before Judge Story as a fugitive slave, and Gray had no proof on his claim, the learned judge very kindly told him that it was usual in such cases to give time, and he therefore directed Latimer to be remanded under that prodigious warrant, for two weeks. The final hearing comes on on Saturday next, November 5. The city of Boston is waiting in breathless anxiety for the issue. May God grant a happy deliverance, or we shudder for the consequences. It seems impossible that Gray and Latimer should go out of the city together, both alive.

The following extract from the *Latimer Journal*, given in the *Emancipator*, details the manner of his release.

Glory be to God—Latimer is free! Early last week, a petition, signed by some of the most respectable of our lawyers, untainted too with abolition, was sent to the high sheriff, Eveleth, requesting him to remove Coolidge from the office of jailor, as the petitioners had learned from Mr. Eveleth himself, that Coolidge held Latimer in his private custody, and that he, Mr. Eveleth, (the only commanding officer of the jail,) had no control in the case. Mr. Eveleth took the opinion of Judge Shaw on Wednesday morning, and he decided that Mr. Eveleth was not bound to hold Latimer, or in other words that he had no legal right to hold him.

The sheriff, however, has not removed his unworthy subordinate, although it is rumoured that he gave some pretty significant hints. As the next step, a movement was set on foot for a similar petition to the governor, requesting him to remove the sheriff. That was hitting the nail on the head, and produced numerous results.

On Thursday the trial came on in the municipal court, before Judge Thatcher, of five men who had been indicted for a riot and resistance of the officers of justice (!) while they were taking Latimer to jail on the 20th of October. Mr. Merrill, for the defendants, stated to the court that George Latimer would be an important witness in the defence, as he was present through the whole of it, and moved that a writ of habeas corpus be issued to the high sheriff and the jail keeper, Mr. Nathaniel Coolidge, for his appearance in court. He made an affidavit to this effect, and further said, that he expects that George Latimer will testify that, on the 20th of October, at the time of the committing of the acts alleged in the indictment, he was present at the place or places wherever the acts were said to have been committed, and that there was then no unlawful rioting or riotous assembly, and that there was no attempt made to rescue him—that he was near by constable Stratton, and that there was no attempt made to assault Stratton or to rescue him.

Joseph Eveleth, Esq., the sheriff, in answer to the writ, stated that George Latimer was not in his custody, but he believed that such a person was in the custody of the jailor, who was acting as the agent of Mr. Gray, the master. This, of course, settles the question that Latimer was not lawfully imprisoned in the jail. We hope the appropriate results of unlawful imprisonment will be secured.

A new writ of habeas corpus was then required for Coolidge, but he promised to bring Latimer into court when wanted, and so no writ was issued. Rumour at the same time asserted that Coolidge was resolved, if he brought Latimer into court, never to take him out, or to have any thing more to do with him.

Early the same morning, word was sent by lawyer Austin to Mr. Sewall, that if Latimer's friends would pay 800 dollars, he might go free. Latimer's friends, however, who had offered 600 dollars in cash on Monday evening, which was then contemptuously refused with an oath by Gray not to take a cent short of 1500 dollars, were now in no hurry to take up the offer. In the afternoon a proposal came from Coolidge, that for 650 dollars he would deliver Latimer up to his friends, at any place they might designate in the city. Still there was no hurry; night closed in—it was rumoured that Gray had abandoned the suit and gone off in despair—at length a negotiation was entered into, and about nine o'clock the portals of the jail in Leverett-street opened, and the welkin rang with loud shouts of hundreds, as the long imprisoned martyr of habeas corpus walked forth to the air, and swung upwards his free arms—a man—a husband—a father—a free citizen of the free commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The friends finally consented to allow the wretched conspirators 400 dollars to divide among them, to replace in part the money they had expended. Probably it was best, under the circumstances.



## SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

[From the *New York Evangelist*.]

ONE of the reasons always adduced for not interfering with slavery in the district of Columbia, is that "slavery exists there in a very modified form," that we there "behold its mildest features."

I do not doubt this; and having myself witnessed slavery in the district, I confess I am prepared to believe the truth of that vast collection of horrid and astounding cruelties charged upon the system generally in Weld's "Slavery as it is." The following advertisement graces the columns of the daily *National Intelligencer*, from month to month.

"Negros Wanted.—The subscriber wishes to purchase immediately a number of Negros, for which he will pay the highest cash price. He can at all times be found at the corner of Seventh street and Maryland Avenue. All communications addressed through the post office will be promptly attended to."

"JOSHUA STAPLES."

This shameless human flesh dealer has the use of a *private slave prison*, standing midway between the capitol and the president's house in the city of Washington, on the lowlands below Gadsby's, where he secures the poor heart-broken captives that he purchases. Could that old prison reveal all the agonizing scenes, and publish abroad all the cruelties, groans, and tears its gloomy walls have witnessed, I doubt not every freeman would exclaim, that the system "in its mildest form" had in it enough of the elements of human misery and wretchedness to provoke the exclamation—"Cursed be Slavery, and let all the people say AMEN!"

An owner of a slave in the district, who, from losses at the gaming table or race course, from extravagance, improvidence, or other cause, determines upon the sale of his slave, will most assuredly, from motives of shame, make a *secret sale* to Mr. Joshua Staples. The first notice the poor slave has of his sale for a southern plantation may be, that he or she is suddenly drawn and locked into that private "PEN," as it is called, having been sent there, perhaps, under pretence of carrying a letter, or doing an errand! Occasionally an incident occurs which affords a glimpse at the deeds of darkness and infamy practised there, and of the keenness of the misery, and the desolation of hopes, experienced by the captives who are shut within it. For the truth of the following occurrence I might refer to at least one member of congress, as well as to many of the citizens of the district, who saw and heard of the transaction at the time.

A smart and active female slave was placed in this prison, having been sold for the southern market, and the time of her departure was at hand. Her particular history I cannot give. Whether it was the dread of the cruelties and starvation of a southern cotton plantation; the dread of the abuse and violence of some licentious purchaser; or the grief of being suddenly and for ever separated from husband, children, and the friends of her youth, that drove the unhappy woman to adopt, not only in theory, but in practice, the sentiment of Patrick Henry—"Give me liberty, or give me death," I know not. Whatever was the cause, the sentiment was adopted; and, at dusk of the evening previous to the day when she was to be sent off, as the old prison was being closed for the night, she suddenly darted past her keeper, and ran for her life. It is not a great distance from the prison to the Long Bridge, which passes from the lower part of the city across the Potomac, to the extensive forests and woodlands of the celebrated Arlington place, occupied by that distinguished relative and descendant of the immortal Washington, Mr. George W. Custiss. Thither the poor pursued fugitive directed her flight. So unexpected was her escape, that she had quite a number of rods the start before the keeper had secured the other prisoners, and rallied his assistants in pursuit. It was at an hour when, and in a part of the city where, horses could not readily be obtained for the chase; no blood-hounds were at hand to run down the flying woman; and for once it seemed as though there was like to be a fair trial of speed and endurance between the slave and the slave catchers. The keeper and his forces raised the hue and cry on her pathway close behind; but so rapid was the flight along the wide avenue, that the astonished citizens, as they poured forth from their dwellings to learn the cause of alarm, were only enabled to comprehend the nature of the case in season to fall in with the motley mass in pursuit, or (as many a one did that night) to raise an anxious prayer to heaven as they refused to join in pursuit, that the panting fugitive might escape, and the merciless soul-dealer for once be disappointed of his prey. And now, with the speed of an arrow, having safely passed the Avenue, with the distance between her and her pursuers constantly increasing, this poor hunted female gained the 'Long Bridge,' as it is called, where interruption seemed improbable, and already did her heart begin to beat high with the hope of success. She had only to pass three-fourths of a mile more across the bridge, and she could bury herself in a vast forest, just at the moment when the curtain of night would close around her, and protect her from the pursuit of her enemies.

But God by his providence had otherwise determined. He had determined that an appalling tragedy should be enacted that night, within plain sight of the president's house and the capitol of the union, which should be an evidence, wherever it should be known, of the unconquerable love of liberty the heart of the slave may inherit, as well as a fresh admonition to the slave dealer of the cruelty and enormity of his crimes. Just as the pursuers crossed the high draw for the passage of sloops, soon after entering upon the bridge, they beheld in the distance, three men slowly advancing from the Virginia side. They immediately called to them to arrest the fugitive, whom they proclaimed a runaway slave. True to their Virginia instincts, as she came near they formed in line across the narrow bridge, and prepared to seize her. Seeing escape impossible in that quarter, she stopped suddenly, and turned upon her pursuers. On came the profane and ribald crew, faster than ever, already exulting in her capture, and threatening punishment for her flight. For a moment she looked wildly and anxiously around, to see if there was no other hope of escape. On either hand, far down below, rolled the deep loamy waters of the Potomac, and before and behind the rapidly approaching step and fierce and noisy shout of pursuers showed how vain would be any further effort for freedom. Her resolution was taken. She clasped her hands convulsively, and raised them, as she at the same time raised her eyes, towards heaven, and begged for that mercy and compassion there, which had been denied her on earth; and then, with a single bound, she vaulted over the railing of the bridge, and sank for ever beneath the waves of the river!!

Slave-trader! "thy prey hath escaped thee," and if thou comest up to the judgment without deep repentance for thy damnable traffic, that

deeds of wickedness shall one after another be passed in review before an assembled universe, and thou shalt be driven away from the presence of God and the Lamb, will not all created intelligences cry out *Amen* to thy sentence, when they shall see that thou didst persist in buying and selling the bodies and souls of thy fellow-men, after being warned of the tendency and cruelty of thy villainous trade by the self-destruction of the poor hunted fugitive upon the Long Bridge?

A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

## WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The following summary of the proceedings in the legislature in relation to the sugar duties is given in the *Morning Chronicle*. "The proceedings of the house of assembly in Jamaica, agreeing to meet the government 'half-way' in the reduction of the duty on foreign sugars, deserve commendation. The old spirit of exclusiveness and bigotted adherence to prohibition is happily no longer to be found amongst the members. If the love of monopoly exists, or still lingers amongst them, it is at least content to be quiet, and to suffer itself to be lost in the current of liberal principles which has now dominion over it. The exhortations of the island agent to resist concession seem to have fallen dead upon the ears of the learned gentleman's constituents, and his lamentation over the lowliness of the 'tone and spirit' which manifested itself in the British House of Commons, was responded to by the brief remark, 'that it was impossible for any minister much longer to resist the almost universal cry for cheap sugar.' The house of assembly have given up all idea of maintaining the present prohibitory duties. They have 'ceased to consider the present sugar duties as essential to their existence,' and are preparing for a competition which they 'have hitherto regarded not only with alarm, but with horror and dismay.' The motion for an address to her Majesty, in order to make the Crown officially advised of this truth, did not meet with opposition. The principle was agreed to without a division, and even the champion of the planters, Mr. Barclay, formerly immoveable as any post could be on the subject of admitting the products of Brazil into the British market, grumbled his acquiescence, reserving himself merely on the point of 'detail.' There would seem to be no room for the doubt of the readiness of the Jamaica planters to admit foreign sugars into the British markets under a differential duty in their favour, convinced, at last, that free labour sugar will yet be able to compete with slave-grown sugar. This change in the views of the island parliament cannot but be agreeable to the friends of freedom."

MR. BURGE, THE ISLAND AGENT.—The *Falmouth Post* supplies the following:—"The appointment of an Island Agent gave rise to a lengthy and interesting debate on Wednesday last. A conference on the subject had been held with the members of the council, and the report of the committee was, that the retention of the services of Mr. Burge had been agreed upon. This was a most extraordinary proceeding, the more especially, as several members are of opinion that an Island Agent is no longer required; while others candidly confess, that if required, a salary of £1500 sterling is exorbitant, and one which the island in its present depressed condition can ill afford to pay. Of what influence, let us ask, is Mr. Burge? What good has he done? We are reminded by Mr. Osborn, that the House of Assembly made him a present not long ago of £3000, 'as a mark of the sterling value they placed upon his services.' Services indeed! What services? He attended a few meetings of the West India body—wrote a few letters to the Commissioners of Correspondence—and spoke a speech which was scarcely listened to by the members of the imperial parliament, when the bill was introduced for the purpose of doing away with the constitution of Jamaica. And so, because our representatives were silly enough to throw away a vast sum of money in 1839, on an unprincipled, intriguing lawyer, they must forsooth, for the sake of consistency, waste more of the island's impoverished treasury, on a man who, by the admission of those who are his most staunch supporters, is 'not the agent for Jamaica, but of a few individuals.' We are told by Mr. Osborn, that 'were he to expose the secrets of a correspondence held for upwards of twenty years, by Mr. Burge with persons in this colony—a correspondence villifying the whole of our coloured population, the house would be astonished.' We are further told by the same gentleman, that Mr. Burge is 'all things to all men'—a whig under a whig government, a tory under tory administration; that his 'vacillating disposition was stimulated more by self-interest than public principle; and this is the individual whose appointment is supported by Mr. Osborn for 'consistency's sake!' As Mr. Hart very justly remarked, 'if Mr. Burge performed certain services he was liberally remunerated; and we feel not a little surprised and indignant that a representative of one of the most important parishes in the island, a man of fair fame and unblemished reputation, should be found talking of the debt of gratitude due to Mr. Burge in the same breath, and at the same moment, that he denounced him as being inimical to the great mass of the people who are required to be taxed for his support. We deny that Mr. Burge's advocacy rescued Jamaica from the ruin with which she was threatened. To Sir Robert Peel—to British honour, and to British generosity ought our thanks to be given; and with this conviction on our minds we hope that a proper reduction will be made in his salary, and his 'valuable services' dispensed with at no very distant period." A subsequent paper adds:—"Mr. Burge has been again placed on the list of Jamaica's splendid paupers, but for one year only and at a reduced salary of £1000 per annum, which is just £700 more than his services are worth. If he possess one spark of honour and gentlemanly feeling, he will, after reading the sentiments of his constituents retire from his post. If, however, the love of money so engrosses his thoughts and soul, as to induce him to act, notwithstanding all that has been said about him, we seriously advise the 'learned gentleman' to 'assume a virtue, though he have it not,' at the end of the next year, and 'like a well-bred dog, walk down stairs when he sees preparations on foot for kicking him into the street.' The days of his agency are numbered." The *Morning Chronicle* pithily observes upon this that "ingratitude is the lot of public men."

The following sample of Jamaica attorneys is given in the *Baptist Herald*.—"An attorney residing not an hundred miles from Good Hope engaged a labourer to perform a job of work, requesting him to begin upon a certain day. The man hired those he considered necessary to assist, and at the time specified was ready to begin the job, but was informed by the attorney that it must be postponed for some days. The man discharged



his assistants, and, when he would have hired them again, found it impossible to do so. He stated his difficulty to the attorney, and gave up (to use his own expression) the agreement; nothing was said by the attorney for some weeks, and in the meantime the poor man was assisting to erect a Baptist chapel. The persecuting spirit of his old employer was immediately stirred within him, nor would he allow it to lull till he had compelled him to pay a heavy fine for *breaking his agreement*. The man, as was natural, expressed a determination not to work upon the property again. The same attorney has the charge of a property not a week's walk from Windsor Pen. The large majority of the labourers there located were anxious to erect upon the property a large shed, for the purpose of holding their usual prayer meeting; they applied to their employer for permission, and were insultingly refused. Such a refusal has excited a great deal of bad feeling, and many declare they will leave at once, unless they are allowed a room to meet for social prayer. Let these facts be pondered, and it will be seen that honest men for managers will do far more than immigration to keep the island in a healthy state. With or without labourers from Africa, the island will never prosper till we have *continuous wages, continuous kind treatment, and a continuous discharging*, until all have gone, of the petty despots, who, having lost the power of the whip, have lost the only power they ever had."

The same paper supplies the following fact, in answer to the question why the new coloured proprietors do not grow sugar. "An enterprising and industrious black man, being in possession of a considerable portion of land, came to the praiseworthy determination of planting a certain portion of it in canes; but the petty creatures to whom he applied for plants threw every impediment in his way, and were determined to make the 'ambitious fellow' pay more than other people for them. But this fellow, possessing a little more sense than they gave him credit for, went further, and applied to a coloured proprietor, who afforded him every facility in carrying out his intentions, and the plants were procured from that gentleman's estate."

**AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT.**—St. Andrews Agricultural Association has offered a premium of ten guineas to any person who shall plant and establish 1000 cocoa nut trees on any plantation in the parish.

The Vere society offers a premium to any person who shall erect a set of coppers upon an improved principle, effecting a saving in fuel, and producing a more speedy evaporation of the liquor; and also intends to award two prizes to the labourers who shall have planted, manured, and cultivated to maturity a field of canes at the least cost, and yielding the best returns, the extent of land not to be less than eight acres.

Mr. Edie has invented a harrow for the purpose of clearing young canes and moulding them. It is said to be a very ingenious and simple contrivance by which the roots of weeds are cut and grubbed up from a considerable depth beneath the surface, and conveyed from the field. The labour saved is thus stated; two steers attended by three labourers could do the work of twenty-four labourers with the hoe in a given time. £10 sterling has been given as a premium to Mr. Edie by the St. Andrews Association.

**IMMIGRATION.**—On the 10th of September an English brig sailed from Kingston, with six African delegates and a white physician on board, bound to Sierra Leone for emigrants.

**BARBADOS.**—(Not from the *Liberal*, but the *West Indian*).—"It is not pleasant to us to publish to the world the dishonour or cupidity of our proprietors—to draw down the ridicule, or contempt, or obloquy of the wise and virtuous on our magistracy; but really, it fills us with indignation to behold the recklessness of the one, and the imbecility of the other. What individual can read the report of the case, Davis against Carter, and withhold his disapprobation, nay, his unmeasured condemnation? Here is a man, for visiting his reputed wife at night, charged by an unjust attorney, rent for the house which that wife occupies, and for which she pays the attorney rent by giving him her labour; and on refusing to comply with the illegal demand, cited before a magistrate, the friend and croney of the complainant, we suppose—who, in the absence of all proof of the debt—nay, in the presence of direct proof that there could be no legal demand—orders the labourer to pay the amount, for which, but for the court of appeal, he must have undergone imprisonment for some time? Is this disregard of law and equity to be silently submitted to? Never so long as we have a press at our command, and are permitted by providence to wield a pen. We will expose the delinquencies of Mr. Evelyn and his time-serving brethren, though our reward be a prison. We feel most strongly in this case. Davis has been, by the statement of Carter himself, incarcerated for forty days for a debt which he did not owe; a debt which Carter unjustly sought to recover, and which the police magistrate for Christchurch iniquitously and illegally ordered him to pay. We shall see what redress the injured man will receive. But this we must say, it never entered our imagination that there was a magistrate in the commission of the peace—Mr. Alexander Harper Morris excepted—who could have given so unrighteous a judgment—who would have dared to disgrace the records of any court with proceedings of the nature of those to which we are now referring. Mr. Evelyn, it appears, has not learned wisdom from the chastisements that his erring brother has received. He must needs sigh for notoriety, and notoriety he shall have."—We give our assistance to this laudable design of our contemporary.—*Ed. Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

**ANTIGUA.**—R. H. Haynes, esq., a practical planter of Antigua, well-known for his successful experiments in sugar boiling, has put forth a prospectus of a work, which he offers to the acceptance of his brother planters, as the result of thirty years' experience. From the advertisement of the work we make the following extract:—

"The work contains an account of his method, not only of improving the quality but of increasing the quantity of saccharine matter in the cane at least fifty per cent., by an improved plan of cultivation, and management of the plant in all its stages, backed by arithmetical proof, that it is less expensive than that which is now in use in most of these islands; and that the results of the general adoption of this plan throughout the free colonies would be the saving of 700,000 dollars in labour, and an addition of fifty thousand tons of sugar per annum to the average exportations."—*Antigua Herald*.

**DOMINICA.**—The following are said to be the statistics referred to in a speech of Mr. J. Fabelle, in the house of assembly:—

"Annual average of 4 years produce ending with slavery, 54,214 cwt sugar—annual average of 4 years of apprenticeship, 39,076 cwt.—annual average of 4 years of freedom, 38,998 cwt."

"With regard to coffee no accurate statistical table could be presented. It might generally be stated however, that the export of coffee from this island, under the combined influences of the long existing blight and high wages to the cane cultivation, had declined from one million and a quarter of pounds in 1832, to a third of a million in the present year."

It appears from these statistics that the average sugar crop during the four years of apprenticeship was 15,138 cwts., or about 1009 hogsheads of 15 cwts. each below the average of the four preceding years of slavery, whilst the falling off in the four years of freedom averaged only 78 cwts., or about 5 hogsheads, as compared with the four years of apprenticeship. We should have liked to see an annual statement of crops for the entire three periods, with fair notices of the state of the seasons and other influencing causes, to enable us to form a correct judgment of the actual deficiency to be charged to free labour. As regards the coffee crop, nothing can be inferred to the prejudice of free labour from the statement before us, as it is pretty generally known that for several years the coffee plantations have been suffering severely from blight, and the diminution of crops, enormous as it is, may be entirely attributable to that cause.—*Barbados Liberal*.

The *St. Vincent Observer* tells us that the agent for that colony has written to the Gambia, representing to the proper authorities the propriety of publishing a proclamation recommendatory of emigration to these colonies. By what authority is this?

**TOBAGO.**—In the address of the Assembly to the speech of his Excellency the Lieutenant-governor on opening the session, we find it stated that the governor-in-chief, in a despatch on the supply bill, had "expressed himself averse to the tax of four shillings imposed by the bill on each male labourer, which he terms a capitation tax." The house state, in defence of the measure, that they "cannot view the tax in that light, but consider it, as other taxes imposed on trades, professions, and employments, a tax on the employment of the labourer from which he derives an income."—*Barbados Liberal*.

The tax referred to has been in operation some time. Its oppressive character may be gathered from the following extract of a letter received from a well-informed correspondent some months since:—

"There is a tax levied in Tobago on all persons of 4s. sterling each, and those people freed in 1838 come in for this. A few days ago a man who had been formerly an apprenticed labourer, was engaged by an officer to assist his butler, and on the 27th of November last, the marshal's deputy came to the officer's house with a warrant against the poor man for not having paid the 4s., with the addition of £1. 19s. fees for the treasurer and marshal—the poor man was wholly ignorant of the poll-tax, and thus was made to pay in all £2. 3s. or go to gaol. The poll-tax was not allowed to be in force at St. Lucia after emancipation in 1838; and why the poor people of Tobago are to be inflicted with it, I cannot devise. This is one case out of lots similar, so that the marshal and treasurer obtain 9 times and  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much in fees as the colony itself—viz. the colony, 4s. and the others £1 19s. Surely this a sad imposition."

**THE FREEHOLD SYSTEM** is about to be fairly tried in Tobago. We are informed by a friend on whose authority we can rely, that one of our most extensive attorneys (in consequence of instructions from home) has recently ordered about 100 acres of one of the estates under his charge to be surveyed, and divided into small lots, which he means to offer to the labourers of the estate at a moderate rate of purchase. An estate long out of cultivation, and situate near the Moravian church at Mount Moriah, has also been purchased a few days ago on speculation, with the view of leasing and selling land to the peasantry. The experiment therefore is about to be entered on—and, once begun, it must, in self-defence even, be adopted by all.—*Tobago Gazette*.

**TRINIDAD.**—On Saturday the 29th October, the *Chieftain* returned from Sierra Leone with a full complement of people (248), having made the voyage from this island and back with her cargo in 98 days.—*Trinidad Standard*.

In Trinidad there is a prospect of great judicial reforms. Trial by jury and the English law of evidence are to be introduced in criminal cases.

The immigration to Trinidad from the islands still continues. During the months of August and September upwards of 500 arrived. These, it is probable, were principally from Anguilla, which had been inundated by a hurricane which destroyed all the crops, and threatened the inhabitants with starvation. As British Guiana has retired from the field, and no longer pays the passage money of immigrants from the islands, Trinidad has a monopoly of that supply.

The *Gazette* congratulates the planters on the increase of immigration from the neighbouring colonies up to the 30th September. It says—no less than 728 labourers had arrived during the last two months, without reckoning many other immigrants, not exactly labourers, but still very useful people in a thinly peopled and progressing colony.

The crop of 1842 is stated to have exceeded that of 1841 by about 300 hogsheads, up to the 30th of September both years. The number of hogsheads expected to be shipped by the 31st of December is 20,000.

**BRITISH GUIANA. WANT OF ECONOMY.**—A correspondent of *The Royal Gazette* calls the attention of the Editor to the general want of economy, and the misapplication of labour and capital every where observable, and the influence which this has on its credit and prosperity. From the editor's remarks on the communication of his correspondent, we make the following extract, which is well deserving the consideration of proprietors and capitalists at home:—"The complaints which AN AGENT makes of the general want of economy, and the general misapplication of capital and labour, are better founded. These faults indeed, lie at the bottom of the greater part, if not the whole, of the existing distress. In former times it was so easy to raise money, or to run in debt, upon the credit of a plantation, that few planters felt the necessity of economy. This profusion and extravagance was still increased more, by the fact, that most of



the proprietors were non-resident. The managers and attorneys, as the money they spent was not theirs, had no motive to economize; extravagance in one led to extravagance in another; and in some things, especially in buildings, boats, and machinery, it seems almost to have been a contest which plantation should spend the most money, to least purpose.

"As to the misapplication of labour, that was essentially part and parcel of the system of slavery. Every thing was done by brute force; and it was not until shortly before emancipation, when the diminution in the number of hands began to be felt, that any effort was made to supply by ingenuity and contrivance the place of mere muscular exertion.

"Since the most serious evils of which our correspondent justly complains can thus be traced to the former absolute command of labour, and unlimited extent of credit which the planters enjoyed, it is to be hoped that the present short supply of labour and difficulty of borrowing money will not prove an unmixed evil; but will tend to some general and decided improvements in the management of planting affairs. Necessity is a sharp teacher; but generally speaking, it is the only teacher to which men will listen. It is in vain to expect men to grow economical, till they have experienced in their own persons the evils of profusion; nor will sugar planters, more than any body else, exert their genius to discover new and more productive applications of labour, till they find themselves obliged to use their wits, or lose their estates.

"If, then, capitalists at home will no longer trust us with their money, we must endeavour to see what can be done without it; and how far thrift and good management may be made to answer the purpose of loans and mortgages. Nobody can doubt that the prosperity of the colony would be placed upon a far more stable footing, could it once be delivered from that dependence upon foreign capitalists, who have never lent their money for nothing, and whose favours, whatever appearance of momentary prosperity they might produce, have ended most commonly in the ruin of the borrower. To mere speculators, whether colonial or foreign, the colony at present holds out no great inducements; but those who are content with the sober rewards of persevering industry have, perhaps, as good a chance here as elsewhere."

THE CHEAPNESS OF FERTILE LAND being assigned by the Commons committee as the chief cause of the ills complained of in the West Indies, the *Freeman's Sentinel* (Guiana paper) replies, that this cause cannot affect the labourers, for three reasons. First, because only one-thirtieth part of them have any land, and these not on an average an acre a head. Secondly, because the land they have is not fertile but either swampy, sandy, or exhausted soils. Thirdly, because it is not cheap, the labourers having paid from four hundred to eight hundred dollars per acre for it, which is very far beyond the price at which good land has ever been sold before. The *Gazette* acknowledges the truth of all this; and naively says, that the abundance of fertile land is a cause of mischief, not because the labourers get hold of it, but because it is in the possession of the planters.

A CANDID ADMISSION.—High wages demanded by and paid to the negro, is not the only evil with which we have to contend. The whole system by which properties are managed is unwise, and unsuited to the change that has taken place. It was framed during the existence of slavery; it could only work with advantage while slavery lasted, and it should have been abandoned at the self-same time, when the monster whose power it contributed to uphold was vanquished and overcome by the guardian genius of liberty. It is folly in the extreme for individuals to cry about the prevailing distress, while they are too indolent to set their houses in order while they exert not sufficient energy to better their condition, but, on the contrary, are apparently contented to spend the little means they have remaining in the purchase of those articles which ought to be raised at home for the maintenance of themselves and families.—*Guiana Gazette*.

IMMIGRANT CATCHING.—The planters of Guiana are beginning to discover that to their own "dirty acts," as one of them phrases it, it is to be traced "the bad working of the estates." Anxious to obtain labour, they are not scrupulous as to the means of securing it. "Sly emissaries" and "enticing letters," are the order of the day. In all this, the editor of the *Times* observes, "the inconsistency of the Demerara planter" is conspicuous. He is "always prepared to catch up the labourers lost by his 'neighbour,'" yet watches "with a dog-in-the-manger jealousy, the reception given to those lost by himself."

THE SUGAR DUTIES.—The reported alteration of the duties on the Brazilian sugar from 63s. per cwt. to 30s., and on plantation from 24s. to 16s., does not meet with any great favour in Liverpool, principally on the ground that it would be attended with a serious loss to the revenue, and that it would give the grower of plantation sugar so great an advantage over the Brazilian planter, as to render it doubtful whether the latter would be able to compete with the former in the English market, except at times when the prices of sugar were extravagantly high. Supposing the duty on plantation sugar to be reduced from 24s. to 16s. per cwt., it is believed that there would be a loss to the revenue of a million and a-half sterling, and it is considered very doubtful whether the increased consumption of Brazilian sugar at 30s. duty would make up for it. It is also felt, that a discriminating duty of 14s. per cwt., or rather of between 15s. and 16s. per cwt. (for, after the additional five per cent. and two and a-half per cent. are added to the respective duties on Brazilian and West Indian sugar, it amounts to that) is much too high, and would be likely, if there was a moderate fall of prices, either to drive the Brazilian out of the market, or at least very much to diminish their imports. On these grounds the measure is not much liked, although it is admitted that it would lower the price of sugar to the consumer, and would, for a time, give a considerable impulse to the trade with Brazil.—*Liverpool Times*.

LOUISIANA.—The legislature of this state has passed a law entitled "An act more effectually to prevent free persons of colour from entering into this state, and for other purposes." This is in the teeth of the "glorious constitution."—*American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

OHIO. STATE LAW AND THE CONSTITUTION.—The legislature of Ohio has enacted, that coloured persons settling in that state shall give bond for their good behaviour. On a trial which has arisen out of this, the supreme court has, on a suit of error, decided, that "the legislature have no power to make distinction among citizens of other states who may settle in this."—*Ibid*.

### THE IMPORT TRADE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

Governor LIGHT to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, 15th March, 1841.

I have the honour of forwarding to your lordship the comparative tonnage of shipping entered at George-town, from the harbour-master and collector of customs. There is some little discrepancy in the two, but both show the large increase of tonnage in 1840 compared with 1839. I have forwarded both returns, as that of the harbour-master has given the corresponding entries in the month of January for successive years, including 1841, in which month of this year there is an increase nearly double that of any corresponding January of previous years. It is satisfactory to be able to give your lordship such striking proofs of the increasing prosperity of this colony.

A RETURN of the number of vessels and tonnage entered the port of George-town in the under-mentioned years.

Harbour Master's Office, Demerara, 20th Feb. 1841.

	No. of Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.	REMARKS.
For the Year ending 31st of December 1834	405	72,419	These numbers do not include vessels from Berbice, vessels in her Majesty's service, nor vessels that may have arrived in the port and obtained permission from her Majesty's customs to land certain articles of cargo without coming to entry.
" " 1835	394	77,055	
" " 1836	430	80,185	
" " 1837	477	84,759	
" " 1838	504	93,535	
" " 1839	524	81,273	
" " 1840	552	92,838	

N.B.—the number of vessels entered in the port of George-town in the month of January of the present year, exceeded by thirty-two the number that have entered within the same period in any of the seven preceding years, and the tonnage by 6,878, viz.:—

	No. of Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.		No. of Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.
In the January of 1834	24	2954	In the January of 1838	44	8178
" 1835	28	5304	" 1839	31	5688
" 1836	39	7435	" 1840	39	7511
" 1837	41	8004	" 1841	76	15,056

(Signed) H. H. SOUTHEY.

Port of George-town, Demerara.

RETURN of the number and tonnage of vessels entered inwards at the Custom House, George-town, Demerara, for the following years, viz.:—

Years.	No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	
1834	630	90,221	Including vessels from Berbice. From the junction of the two ports of New Amsterdam and George-town, the Berbice trade is considered a coasting-trade, and is not included herein.
1835	672	95,039	
1836	543	88,909	
1837	532	90,431	
1838	536	94,824	
1839	501	81,293	
1840	567	93,211	

Custom House, 22nd Feb. 1841. (Signed) CHAS. ROBINSON, Collector.

In connexion with these gratifying facts, the following statement will show the growing prosperity of the colony.

A RETURN showing—1st. The Number of New Stores, for the sale of dry goods, provisions, liquors, and merchandize in general. 2nd. The number of free settlers' cottages (almost exclusively from the emancipated class) erected and established in the rural districts since the 1st August, 1838.

Districts.	Counties.	No. of Stores.	No. of Cottages.	Remarks.
A.	Demerara	3	8	The village of Mahaica and the hamlet Mahaicany are rapidly increasing, and some settlement are springing up near Abary.
B.	"	4	14	In this district but little disposition to wander has been exhibited. The labourers industrious, and well behaved.
C.	"	2	6	Many plots of land have been purchased by labourers, and preparations for building cottages are in progress.
D.	"	7	64	Most of the saleable land in this district is high up the river.
E.	"	4	"	This district is composed of the islands Leguan and Wakenam. Frederickburgh is greatly increasing.
F.	Essequibo	10	6	
G.	"	11	27	Free settlers can have a fine choice of convenient plots of good land in this district.
H.	"	3	8	Free settlers can have a fine choice of capital land, but remotely situated.
I.	Berbice	2	57	In this district abandoned lands to a considerable extent.



## DR. MADDEN'S REPORT.

(Continued.)

Having proceeded to Accra, I immediately caused the proclamation prohibiting slavery on the part of Europeans and other British subjects in our settlements to be carried into execution, and generally made known among the slaves. I found that a British merchant, lately deceased at Accra, had left a large number of slaves, between 400 and 500 by common report, for the benefit of his creditors (chiefly in London) to whom he was largely indebted. Two-thirds of the trade on the Gold Coast are in the hands of one London house, from which establishment a great proportion of the merchants on the coast obtain large credits; and, if misfortunes should arise, or death should happen, the president of the council is expected to see that the interests of this house are taken care of, and in most cases of deaths he becomes the official executor, and the disposal of the property rests with him. In such cases, and in that of the property in this instance left, it chiefly consisted of slaves and pawns; and on one occasion, when I contended with the authorities that the sale of such persons would amount to a felony, I was informed that justice was a greater duty than generosity, and that people, whose debts were due and creditors clamorous, could not be deprived of any property that was left to pay them.

I called on Mr. Topp, the commandant of the British fort at Accra, to have the slave and pawns in this case brought before me. The deceased person had lately been commandant of the fort, and his slaves were living in the vicinity. I received from Mr. Topp, I must gratefully acknowledge, every assistance he could render, or facility he could throw in the way of my proceedings: he had the slaves of the deceased brought up to meet me at the house of Mr. Bannermann, and there I explained to them, as I had done at Cape Coast, the state of the law with regard to them and their masters, and informed them, whenever they desired to obtain their freedom, they were justified in demanding it at the hands of the British authorities at the place, and that no Englishman had a legal right to hold them in slavery. These poor people little knew how they were situated; that in a few days, but for these proceedings, they were destined to be sold; and many of them might probably have been committed to the care of a person whose factory at Little Popoe I have already spoken of. Since the death of their late master, they had been allowed to remain in idleness with his family; and, having been severely worked heretofore, the change in their treatment was for the better, and they imagined it was to last. Their spokesman informed me, on behalf of all of them present, that they were thankful for what the British government had done for them, and whenever they found themselves badly treated, or not given enough to buy food and clothes, they would go to the commandant and ask to be made free; but, so long as the children of their late master behaved well towards them, they would remain in their service.

They went away, however, very grateful for the information they received, and little is likely to be ever got from their services as slaves. I then called on Mr. Bannermann to inform his slaves (to a considerable amount), to do the same with them as had been done in the former case; and Mr. Bannermann, having patiently heard the explanation I gave him of the state of the law as regarded slavery, and the nature of the proclamation for its prohibition, this gentleman at once expressed his determination to abide by the law, and to set his slaves at liberty; and much to his honour I must add, he stated that, on every subject connected with the affairs of the settlement, his strongest desire was to meet the views and wishes of the home government. I now sent for a coloured gentleman who held a considerable number of slaves, of the name of Bruce, and pursued the same course as in the case of Mr. Bannermann, and with similar results. Circumstances having come to my knowledge at Accra, which made it desirable for me to get further information on this subject of slave-holding and man-pawning in our settlements, I addressed a letter to Mr. President Maclean, from Prince's Island, to make several further inquiries respecting slavery in these places, and the disposal of slaves on the part of British subjects. The queries I put to Mr. Maclean, and the answers he returned to them, will be found in the appendix. It will be seen that he denies any knowledge of the existence of slavery on the part of British subjects on the Gold Coast; that he does not consider the British act of emancipation applicable to our settlements on the Gold Coast; that slaves or pawns are never sold to pay the debts of deceased British subjects in these settlements; that a number of slaves, in the year 1839, belonging to a merchant of Accra, who had then died, had not been sold by him, Mr. President Maclean, to a person sometimes residing at Accra, but chiefly at his factory at Little Popoe; but that he, Captain Maclean, did interfere for the protection of the creditors, and he "enfranchised the slaves, apportioning to each, according to his ability, a small sum which he was to pay to the estate. These sums many paid, others borrowed the necessary amounts, giving their labour at low wages until they could raise money to repay the debts so contracted;" the purchaser alluded to, "he believes, advanced money for many of them, as he required their labour. That it is incorrect to say that pawns (that is, individuals) are the property which is really made over to the purchaser; such is not the case; it is a certain portion or quantity of labour which the purchaser gets in exchange for his money: he has no property whatever in, or right over, his debtor, who can leave him at any moment he chooses." I would like to know from Captain Maclean, how the purchaser gets the labour without the person of the pawn? or how Captain Maclean never sold any of the slaves to this person, and yet he "advanced the money for many of them, as he required their labour?" or how Captain Maclean can believe that no British subject holds slaves or pawns, and yet he, Captain Maclean, is called on to interfere for the protection of the creditors when a merchant dies "possessed of slaves acquired by his creditors' money?" or, finally, how Captain Maclean can consider that the act of emancipation of 1834 was never made applicable to these settlements, and yet admits that he has never seen the act in question, and knows nothing of its specific provisions. He has seen, however, the Act 5 Geo. 4, which I had cited against slave holding; and the term "pawns" he states, is not to be found in the act. I would ask Captain Maclean if the term slave is to be found there; and if a pawn is any other than a slave, while the debt is unpaid for which he has sold his freedom to another, and while he cannot labour for himself and is compelled to labour for his creditor.

It might be well to have considered, before this objection was taken to the act, what Vattel has said to similar objections: "Conjunctures vary,

and produce new kinds of cases that cannot be brought within the terms of law, except by inferences drawn from the general views of the legislature."

The replies I have referred to admit of many comments. I am very unwilling to make any further observations on them, but I feel bound to declare that the opinions expressed in them are totally at variance with the results of all the inquiries I have made on the subject of these queries.

**TOBACCO AND SNUFF.**—The subscriber is very anxious to call the attention of grocers and tobacconists to the importance of their influence in the spread of anti-slavery views; as, by selling tobacco and snuff, they are direct agents in this country of encouraging the system of slavery. And should any dealer exclaim that his trade will be injured by abandoning the sale of these articles, the subscriber would encourage him to prove it. About £200 a year in snuff, and £400 or £500 in tobacco, have been disposed of in the concern I took to, and have managed for the last three years; but I am thankful to say that I am now liberated from the contaminating influence of interest by discontinuing the sale of them, and my customers are not prejudiced against me, but continue their custom for other goods. Many, indeed, declare that, "as Englishmen they ought not to encourage slavery by smoking," and some intend to abandon it. Truly it may be said, our brother's blood cries to us from the ground in this thing. But, whilst I quote this solemn language, let none suppose that the garment of charity does not belong to the writer. He rather gives warning, knowing that we shall all have to give an account of the deeds done in the body at the last day. A. B.

**THE BEY OF TUNIS.**—The government of Spain and Portugal ratified a thousand times treaties with Great Britain for the abolition of the slave-trade, and a thousand times they, the Christians of Spain and Portugal, broke those treaties. The Bey of Tunis ratified no such treaties with Great Britain, but promised Great Britain and her representative at his court, Sir Thomas Reade, to abolish the slave-trade in his territory, and the Bey has kept his promise. Among other evident proofs, we cite one, which very recently took place, from a letter of Mr. Lusco, at Sax, dated 25th November, 1842.

In this letter, Mr. Lusco says:—"A caravan of many slaves arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom of Tunis a few days ago, when immediately the shiekhs of those districts presented themselves to the chiefs of the caravan, and in the name of the Bey informed them, that, as soon as they passed the frontiers with slaves upon the territories of the Bey, those slaves were free, and the masters had no more control or right over them. The chief of the caravan, seeing that the Bey's orders were precise and absolute, retired forthwith. "It is a great pity that the ordinances of many Christian princes and governments are not equally well enforced.—*Malta Times*.

**MR. TURNBULL.**—By late advices from Havana it appears that the interference of Mr. Turnbull, on the slavery question, which they had learned was sanctioned by the British government, was looked upon with great irritation and jealousy. The Cuban planters are represented as resolved to resist any attempt at the interference of Great Britain with their slaves, even though such movement might be authorised by their own government—intimating in fact, that they will throw off their allegiance to their mother country, if such a step be sanctioned by it.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Mr. Turnbull, who had been arrested on landing on the island was brought to Havana on 3rd November, as a prisoner. His arrival caused a great excitement in the city. There was even talk of putting him to death, but through the exertions of the British consul, that disposition of him was changed to an order for immediate departure from the island, and a prohibition never to return. On the 6th he was on board the steamship *Thames* for Nassau and England.—*Times*.

**SLAVERY IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.**—The Egga people seldom make or purchase slaves from their own, that is, the Nufi nation; but always prefer purchasing such whose native countries are far away, because they are considered less liable to effect their escape. Their description of the condition of domestic slaves is so favourable, that, at first, I doubted its correctness; and, to ascertain the truth, I inquired of several persons, whose accounts always agreed in the main points. The slave is allowed half of his time, to work for himself; and the other half he must spend in his master's service, for which he receives food and clothing, both of which are very cheap. The clothing consists of a narrow piece of cloth around the loins; and the food is chiefly such as the owners cultivate by the labour of their slaves. The slave is allowed to sell the produce of his farm, after his master has disposed of his own; and if he is engaged in trading, and employed in canoes visiting the various market-places, he may have his own articles of commerce, and dispose of them to his own advantage. He is permitted to purchase as many wives as his means will allow; and his offspring are free. This circumstance accounts in some measure for the continuance of the internal slave-trade. If the slave can produce money enough, it not unfrequently happens that he purchases his own liberty; after which he is allowed to remain unmolested at the place where he has before been a slave, or, if he chooses, he may return to his own country. The former is done more frequently than the latter. A domestic slave is only allowed to be sold if guilty of a crime; and none taken for the debts of their masters can be sold out of the country, without causing much trouble to those who violate this law. The term "domestic slaves" requires an explanation here. It is obvious that, when they purchase slaves, they are at liberty to sell them again, or to employ them for their own work, as they find most convenient for themselves, and most to their own interests; and that, at the time the bargain is made, they never pledge themselves in any way whether they are intended for domestic use or for a foreign market. When, therefore, they speak of domestic slaves, and of the limits under which they are with regard to the infliction of punishment or the re-selling of them, they can only speak of such slaves as have been long at the place, and entered into the relations of life through marriages, &c., and have thus become members of the community from which they cannot be separated so easily.—*Schöns Journal of the Niger Expedition*.

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